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The Economics of George McGovern

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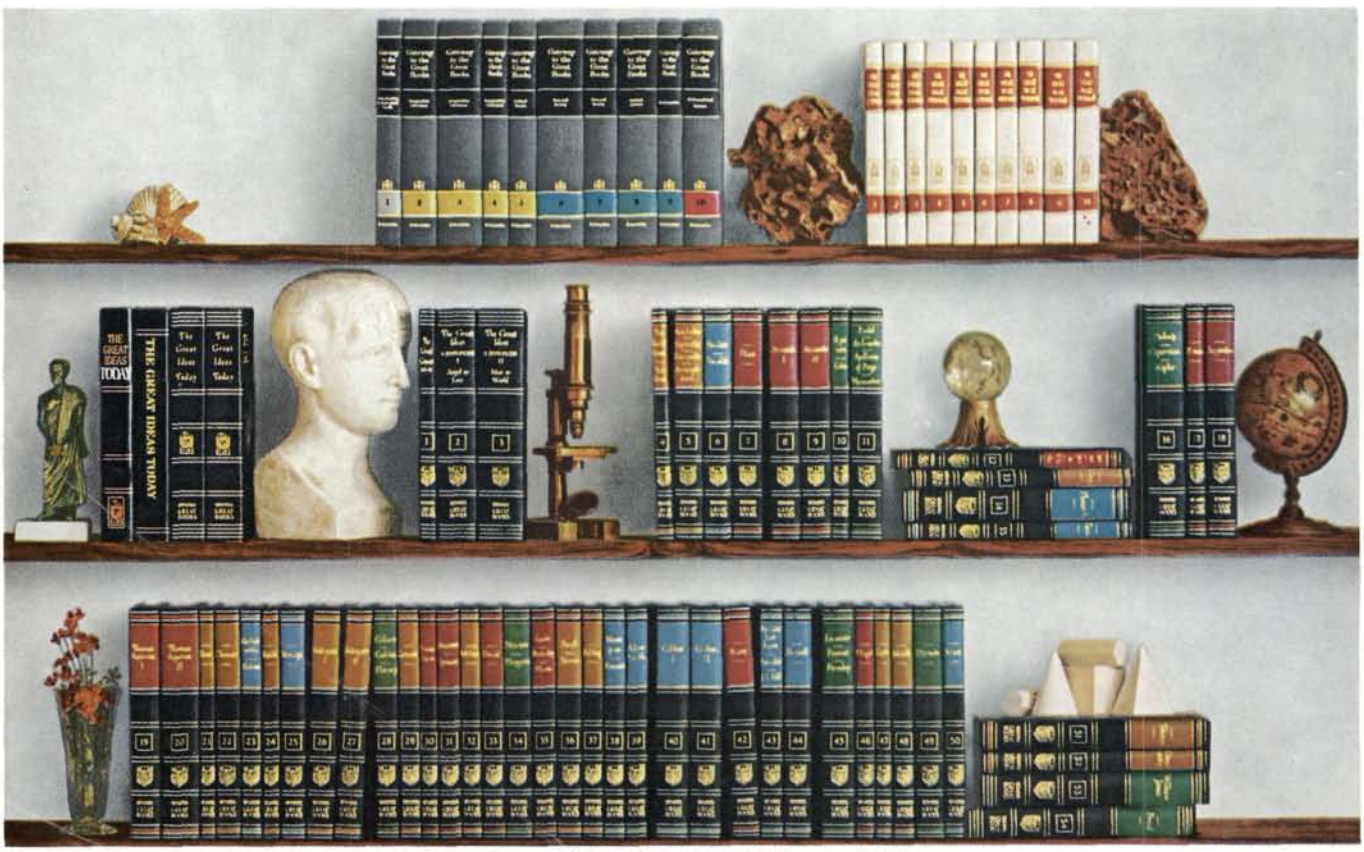

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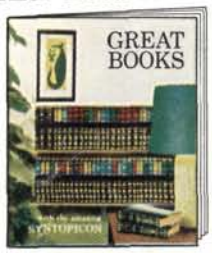

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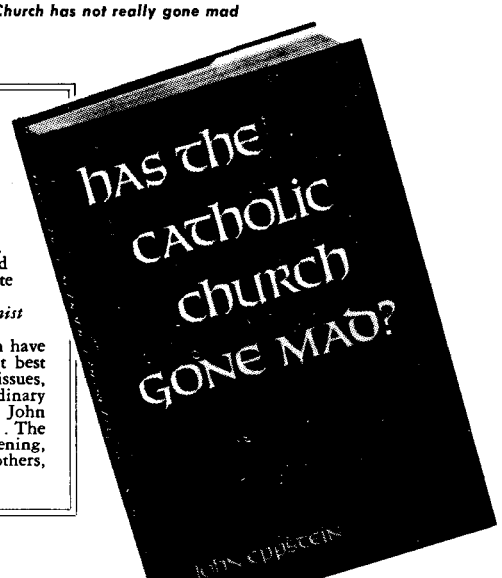

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NATIONAL REVIEW

VOL. XXIV No. 20 MAY 26, 1972

IN THIS ISSUE . . .

The spread on the economics of George McGovern was organized by **Alan Reynolds**, recently joined to the staff of NATIONAL REVIEW. His interests are primarily in economic analysis, as are those of Professor **Miller**, whose new book is reviewed in this issue. **William Schneider** went to the staff of Senator James L. Buckley from the Hudson Institute, where he learned everything about everything from Herman Kahn, whose specialty everything is. . . . **John Teel** describes himself as "32 years old, a convert to conservatism, or rather a reconvert, having been briefly affected by the liberal climate when I taught at Kent State." He teaches English at Marshall University in West Virginia. . . . **James Burnham** analyzes the left-isolationism of George McGovern; **Chester Finn** supplements Professor Teel's inquiry into academic fashion with an essay on the PhD; and **Russell Kirk**, whose latest book on the Age of Eliot has been widely acclaimed, acclaims the courage of a few New York high-school principals. . . . **George F. Will**, formerly of the academy, presently on the staff of Senator Gordon Allott, will be Washington correspondent for NATIONAL REVIEW beginning next issue, and also Book Editor beginning on January 1, 1973, succeeding **Mrs. Frank Meyer**, who will be Acting Book Editor until then, and subsequently Projects Editor. —WFB

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A Curse, or a Blessing?

Eerie Brain Surgery

Knock Off the Jokes

Copernicus Was Polish

Getting Ready for Armageddon

Bob Bartles (left), expedition leader, and Elder Darnell

READER TOTH: She spotted the outline of a human head in illustration for story on death that stirred lots of mail. Page 14.

LEADER MUSKIE: The Observer's first poll of candidates' delegate strength shows how high he had risen, how far he can fall. Page 30.

DEALER LIVINGSTON, POKER CHAMP: Once he lost his GI Bill check in a game at college; he rarely loses now. Page 12.

BOPPERS' DAVID: Young Cassidy is a phenomenon for the preadolescent, and our arts editor, Mr. Ridley, tells all. Page 28.

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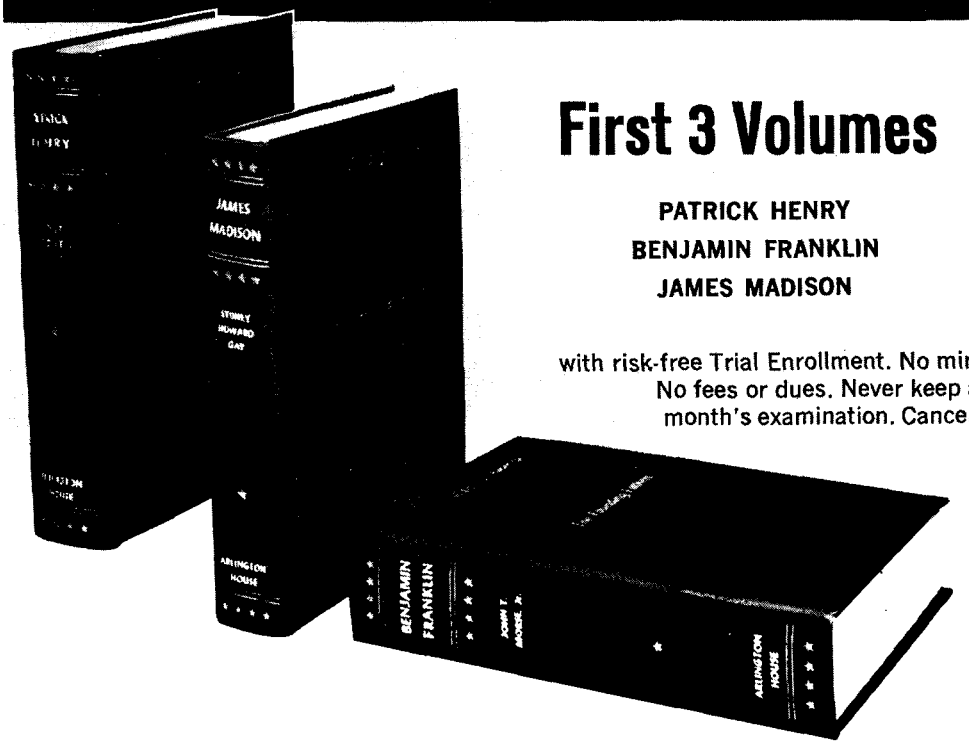

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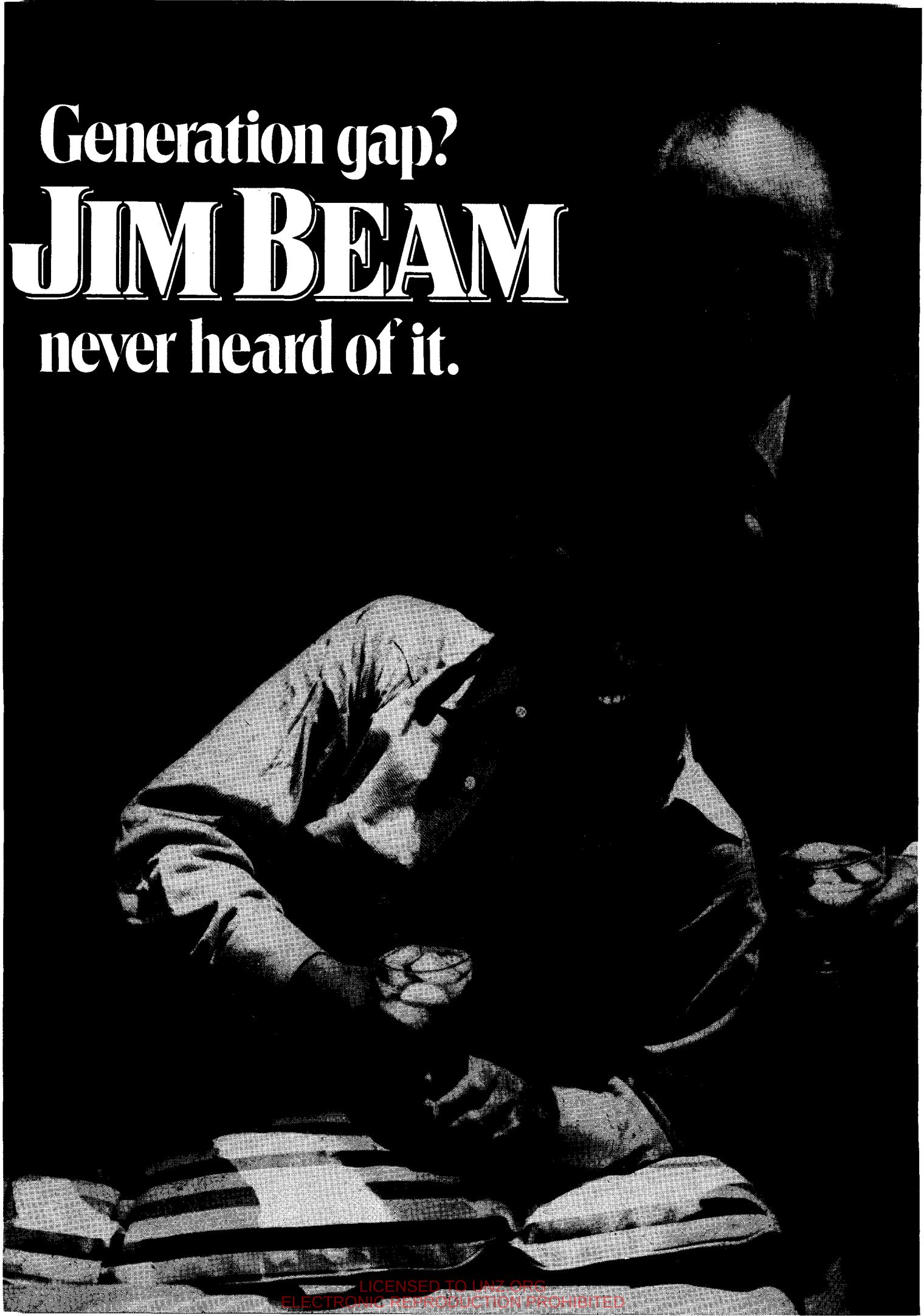

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Rarely are words found to express noble and human sentiments; NATIONAL REVIEW's singular success in such expression, in its tribute to Frank Meyer [April 28], must be in part owing to Frank Meyer himself. The appreciation and recognition of Mr. Meyer's value expressed in that short book review section explain why Mr. Meyer was on NATIONAL REVIEW's masthead: Where else, in so turbulent an age, would such values be understood and generated? NATIONAL REVIEW's expression of its recognition of human emotions and the worth of individuals, in dedication to a man eminently deserving of these sentiments, assures us that Mr. Meyer's values have been transmitted to others.

Granville, Ohio FREDERICK H. CORBIN

There was one important contribution of Frank Meyer's that no one mentioned in the beautiful, well-deserved tribute NATIONAL REVIEW paid his memory. I refer to his testimony before the Senate Committee. Both symbolically and intrinsically, that action of his deserves our attention. There, he came as close to revealing what is the threat to the judiciary of this country as any other evidence in the public record.

Los Angeles, Calif. J. P. CONNEALLY

The last time we spoke together on the phone, Frank said, almost in passing, that he expected next day to be told he had inoperable cancer. I was astonished—no other emotion could touch that feeling at the time—that he could telephone me and speak of professional matters with that weight above his head. Still, after all my experience with death of friends and colleagues, I knew so little about how to speak to one so threatened, that I was just not game to telephone him later to ask whether his fear had been manifested. What does one say?

Boulder, Colo. JOHN GREENWAY

By strange coincidence I completed a term paper on Frank Meyer's political philosophy the very week he was to die. I learned of his death from the beautiful tribute Garry Wills paid Meyer in his column. Wills knew Meyer; I knew Meyer, too. Through his books and through his articles in *Modern Age* and particularly NATIONAL REVIEW I came in contact with a great mind.

San Antonio, Tex. GREG N. RIPPS

I'm so delighted with the section you devoted to Frank—especially with Bill and Priscilla and Brent Bozell's pieces, and the last paragraph of Garry's. Also with Kenner's last sentence—although my imagination conjured up something less intellectual: a vision of Frank singing Gregorian chant, as he and I so often tunelessly attempted it. But my theologian-wife assures me, on the promise of St. Thomas, that we shall all sing on key in heaven.

It's just now beginning to hit me—after the joy of the funeral and the circumstances of his death. Lord, it was 33 years we were friends! Your tributes were marvelous. Thank you.

West Redding, Conn. MAURICE ROBINSON

Unhappy Island?

I would like to correct some of the more glaring errors in the article "Unhappy Island," by David Brudnoy [April 14].

Mr. Brudnoy states flatly that "Puerto Rico is in severe economic trouble." The facts are that during the past two years the slowdown in the U.S. economy (combined with increased foreign competition) affected growth in some of our industrial sectors; notably, apparel has suffered from steady decline.

At the same time, however, our gross product in fiscal year 1971 increased by 12.3 per cent, reaching a record high of $5.2 billion. Moreover, net income in 1971 reached $4.3 billion here, a boost of 11.7 per cent over the previous year. Labor and salaried groups were the beneficiaries of the largest share of income—76 per cent, the highest so far reached in Puerto Rico's history.

Mr. Brudnoy also claims that "knowledgeable Puerto Ricans laugh at" the official unemployment rate and put it almost three times as high. The fact is that our Department of Labor employs the same techniques to determine unemployment as does the U.S. Department of Labor.

Mr. Brudnoy declares that Puerto Rico was "once able to provide all the food necessary for its inhabitants." His implication in context is that this was recently true and that something drastically wrong has been done to us so that now we are reduced to surviving on "food handouts" and increasing imports of foodstuffs. The fact is that Puerto Rico was never able to provide all of its own food since its earliest period just after discovery 450 years ago when the first settlers managed to endure for some time without resort to imports.

LESLIE HIGHLEY
Director, Puerto Rico
San Juan, P.R. Information Service

Brudnoy's interesting and valuable comment on Puerto Rico contains one misleading statement, which is odd in a journal as sophisticated as yours on related matters: He implies that it is the very poor in Puerto Rico who are inde-

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pendentists. All the evidence we have—studies by public-opinion analysts for election purposes, and impressionistic experience—suggests very strongly that the poor are *not* markedly independentist—and in fact, as any reader of Oscar Lewis will remember, some of them are strongly Republican (pro-statehood).

Independentists in Puerto Rico are and have been for the 28 years I have known the island recruited chiefly from romantic intellectuals and students; it is not any great exaggeration to say that if the College of Social Sciences at the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico were suddenly to disappear with all its members, there would be very little independentism left. The great Muñoz-Marin discovered from the *jibaros* (the peasants in the hills, who, when he started often had a per capita income of $100 a year or some such meager sum) that they would not listen to anyone who hinted at independence. *They* taught *him* this, rather than the reverse; and so he helped to develop the Commonwealth idea.

Brudnoy perhaps does not make sufficiently clear the tremendous change in health, welfare and decent living conditions in the past twenty years; it is perfectly likely that if we had adequate measures, we would find the standard of living in Puerto Rico has increased more rapidly for more people between 1951 and 1972 than in any other place in the world. To me, this is best visualized by the extraordinary contrast between the students (who were among the best-off people in the island) in 1944-1945 when I first taught there—many of them suffering, clearly, from the effects of malnutrition and some of the then-numerous endemic diseases—and the much larger number of gloriously healthy and well-developed students on the campus in 1961—a trend that has kept on. Although there certainly are still some extremely impoverished people in the Commonwealth, the change is colossal—and the contrast with the neighboring island of Santo Domingo, similar in many, many respects (or apparently even with Cuba, which has infinitely greater resources) certainly is a credit to both Operation Bootstrap and the U.S. participation therein.

Belmont, Mass. LEWIS A. DEXTER

Szamek, Pro and Con

Re the article by Pierre Szamek ["The Colonels Will Get You If You Don't Watch Out," April 14]: although there are some statements that appear to be exaggerations made to stress particular points, the entire article is a confirmation of what one observes all too often in the administration of higher education.

As a junior administrator in a two-year college, I can readily understand the entire Kafkaesque atmosphere described by Professor Szamek. The key point of administrative techniques is never to admit that you have made a mistake. By following this practice, administrators of American higher education have filled the faculty and administrative ranks with great numbers of Dickie and Dora Dumbdungs, people who know little, teach what they do know poorly, and manage to keep from learning anything new in their fields of interest.

West Hartford, Conn. NAME WITHHELD

Not being part of the administration of Newark State College, I do not wish to debate the pros and cons of Mr. Szamek's particular case. I do, however, wish to comment on my impressions of the college, as a member of the student body and as an educational consultant from industry.

The history of Newark State College has been one of growth, academic improvement and empathy to the total needs of its regional community. A glance at the school's catalog indicates the excellent academic credentials of its faculty. Of the approximately four hundred listed, one-quarter possess a PhD or EdD, the remainder have at least a Master's degree, and only eight have undergraduate degrees, most of whom are in non-teaching administrative jobs. A substantial percentage have received their advanced degrees from leading Ivy League schools in this country and abroad.

I don't think Mr. Szamek's claim to "planned mediocrity" can hold up. With reference to giving higher grades, a recent *New York Times* article pointed out the *national* trend to higher grades and general dissatisfaction with the grading system itself.

As a part-time evening student for the past several years, I must say I found the school to be educationally rewarding and personally satisfying. I encountered a faculty that was dedicated and enthusiastic. We worked in an atmosphere which was constructive but unpressured.

In my view, the college continues to demonstrate the guidance and true concern for its students that equals any institution in this country. If anything, its president and faculty are to be commended.

West Orange, N.J. BENJAMIN GEORGIA

Public TV, Sí!

For us non-roller-derby fans, who have suffered with the inanities of commercial TV for too long a time (to say nothing of the well-documented left-liberal bias in their pseudo-public-service documentaries and news telecasts), it is indeed disheartening to read your ill-considered attack on public television ["Ourselves, We Prefer Roller Derby," March 17].

Consider, if you will, the names and programs provided viewers of Channel 13, the NET outlet in metropolitan New York, during February: Julia Childs, *Henry VIII*, Harriet Beacher Stowe, Abraham Lincoln, *The Advocates*, John Dos

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Passos, "Neutrons at Work," Bob Cromie, Louis Rukeyser, amateur tennis, *Elizabeth R*, Alexander Fleming, "Cross Channel Hovercraft," Konrad Adenauer, Bill Buckley, David Littlejohn, John Ashbrook, Bill Buckley, Dr. Abraham Sachers . . . The list could go on and on. Offsetting these are Sandy Vanocur and Bob MacNeil, Bill Moyers, and a program called *Free Time*, which too often is occupied by noisy (and noisome) New Left types. This latter may be the fault of the conservatives, who presumably could provide a spokesman from time to time. If your editor saw only anti-American bias in *Dream Machine*, his view must be unusually narrow.

The reference to "old movies trotted out as Cinema Art" was especially cutting. The current series of classics, including *The Blue Angel*, *The Seven Samurai*, *M* and *Grand Illusion*, has given some of us the first opportunity to see what has heretofore been available only in art theaters or the Museum of Modern Art. Last summer's run of great silents was a revelation to a generation raised on Hollywood pap. And it is a real pleasure to see uninterrupted films; heretofore only a single sponsor has seen fit to provide this pleasure on commercial TV.

PTV, as you call it, depends to a great extent on contributions from the viewing audience. The effect of know-nothing criticism, such as you published in the roller-derby piece, is to discourage your readership from even giving public television a chance.

Ridgewood, N.J. PALMER BAYER

Corrections

Concerning your "Primary Notes" ["The Week," March 31], it is true that Durham is populated by more liberal Republican voters than most New Hampshire communities. Nevertheless, McCloskey did *not* defeat Nixon in Durham. In fact, Nixon beat McCloskey by a margin of 606 to 397 votes. (Furthermore, Spiro Agnew received 364 write-in votes!) This was a remarkable outcome because it takes no small amount of social courage to back Richard Nixon in a university community, even though he has strayed so far to the left. Thus, we're not all "knee-jerk" voters in Durham.

Durham, N.H. JAMES O. HORRIGAN

Enjoy your magazine, usually agree with you and find you factual most of the time. However, the editorial "Travails of Marshall Green" [April 14] stated that Thanat Khoman was Premier of Thailand. Not so. Premier, or Prime Minister, is Thanom Kittikachorn, who has held that title since the death of Sarit Thanarat in 1963. Thanat Khoman was Foreign Minister until a few months ago when Thanom dismissed the National Assembly, fired the cabinet and now rules through a Council headed by himself.

APO, San Francisco JAMES D. HOLLAND

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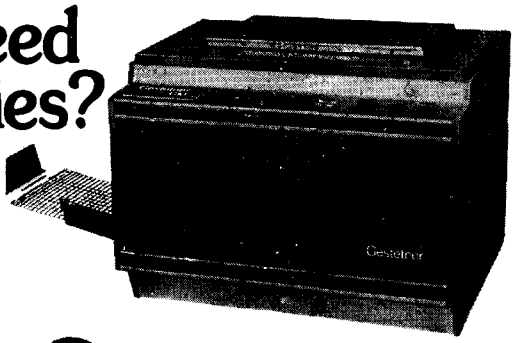

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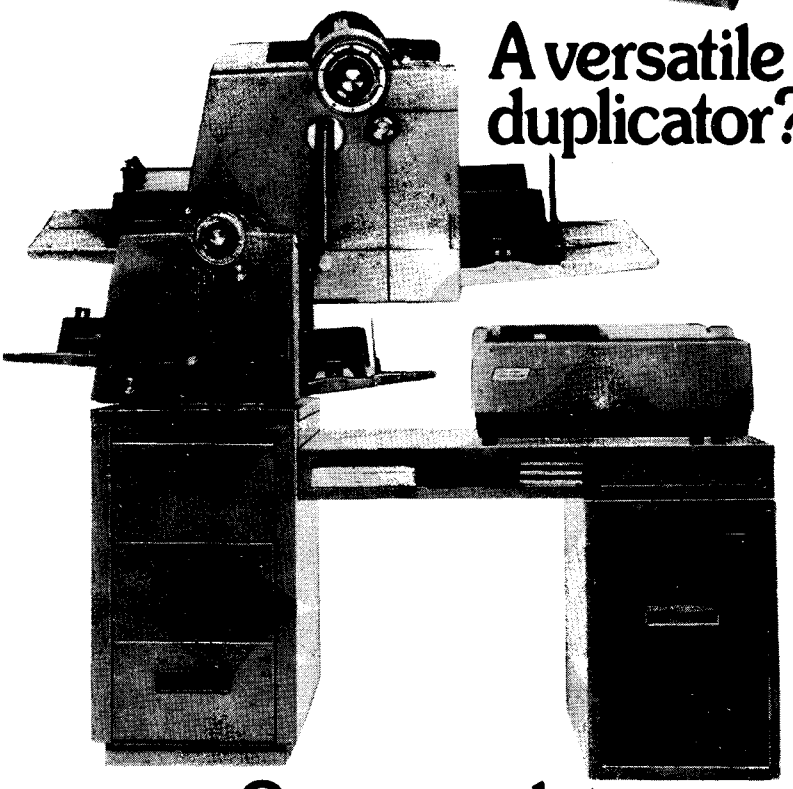

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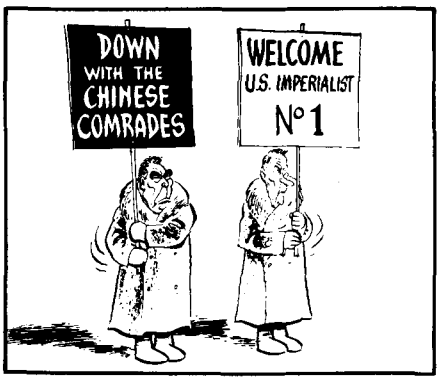
FOR THE RECORD

■ **Hubert Humphrey** is conceding New York to **McGovern**. Says his aide, **John Morrison**: "We're [going to] attempt to win between here and California and make California our major testing." . . . Humphrey headquarters in Los Angeles, incidentally, now operating out of former **Muskie** campaign offices. . . . In two-man race, Humphrey *v.* McGovern, the pros are all for HHH according to a Gallup poll of Democratic county chairmen. It shows 48 per cent of them for Humphrey, only 19 for McGovern. In a wide-open race, the county chairmen are for Humphrey 27 per cent, Muskie 20, **Jackson** 14, **Kennedy** 13, McGovern 11, **Wallace** 9. . . . Between now and California comes Oregon and latest *Portland Oregonian* poll shows McGovern leading there with 35 per cent to 18 for HHH. . . . According to **Fulton Lewis III**, **Alger Hiss** is endorsing George McGovern. . . . A *Christian Science Monitor* story says McGovern Cabinet would probably include Sen. **Frank Church** (of the **Cooper**-Church bugout resolutions), Gen. **James Gavin** (also a bugout specialist), **Abraham Ribicoff** and **Ramsey Clark**. . . . No, says **Harold Stassen**, with dignity, he won't be running this year. "When there is an incumbent President of my own party I never run." . . . Cordial invitation by the Florida People's Convention to the San Diego Convention Committee, which was planning to trash the GOP Convention in California, to join the fun in Miami Beach. And gratefully accepted too: "No matter where they [the Republicans] run, members of the San Diego Convention Committee and thousands of others will be in the streets."

■ In California, **John Ashbrook** has gotten overwhelming endorsement of right-wing **United Republicans of California** by a vote of 519 to sixty. . . . In New York, hottest race of the year shaping up between superliberal **Wm. Fitts Ryan** and superliberal **Bella Abzug** (a race which she describes as giving New Yorkers a "chance to choose the greater of two goods"). . . . On Abzug's side, the Women's Political Caucus and Citizens for Bella, who include **Coretta King**, **Benjamin Spock**, **Harry Belafonte**, **David Schoenbrun**, **Robert Wagner** and others. . . . On Ryan's side the *New American*, organ of **Michael Harrington**'s Socialist Party, plus most of the columnists of *N.Y. Post* and *Village Voice*. Big losers bound to be Reform Democrats.



Behrendt, *Het Parool*, Amsterdam Ben Roth

"The world has changed . . ."

■ Foreign press full of reports of rifts among **Nixon**'s closest advisers. One story says Sec. of Treasury **John Connally** called in friendly reporters after top-secret meeting to decide on bombing of North Vietnam, told them a majority of Nixon's advisers including —according to one version—**Kissinger** and **Laird** were against the escalation. . . . A poll by Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton right after the bombing of North Vietnam was resumed shows seven out of ten Americans favor that step so long as Hanoi's present offensive continues. . . . Splashy ad in *Washington Post*, May 10 shows pictures of Sens. Muskie, McGovern, Kennedy, Humphrey, **Hartke**, **Fulbright** and **Tunney** and says: "Wanted by the American People just one of these men . . . just one to condemn the North Vietnamese Communist enemy . . . just one of these politicians to stop condemning our own country." It was "Sponsored in America's Interest by **William J. O'Hara**." . . . A **Defense Department** spokesman says the presence of a Soviet missile-armed nuclear submarine in **Cuban** waters (the first time ever) is "crowding the so-called 'understanding' between the Soviet Union and the United States." (I.e., the **Kennedy-Khrushchev** deal for the Soviets to withdraw their missiles from Cuba in return for a U.S. hands-off policy on the island.)

■ The hard Left on **J. Edgar Hoover**'s death: *Guardian*: "The death of J. Edgar Hoover removes one of the arch war criminals of the U.S. empire from one of the most impregnable sinecures of personal and political power in the American ruling class." . . . Which was topped by Presidential candidate **Gus Hall** of the Communist Party: "What Rasputin was to the reign of the Czar during the twilight years of that monstrous tyranny, J. Edgar Hoover was to the empire of the monopolies [sic] which, crisis ridden and besmeared with innocent blood of its most recent victims in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, stumbles blindly toward the exit door of history." Wow. . . . Done in after two and a half years, the underground **Berkeley Tribe**, of a capitalist disease. No money.

■ Appearing in elevators in the State Department, "Beware of the Turning of the Worm" posters that call for the Department to get power back from Henry Kissinger. They are signed: SDLF—for **State Department Liberation Front**.

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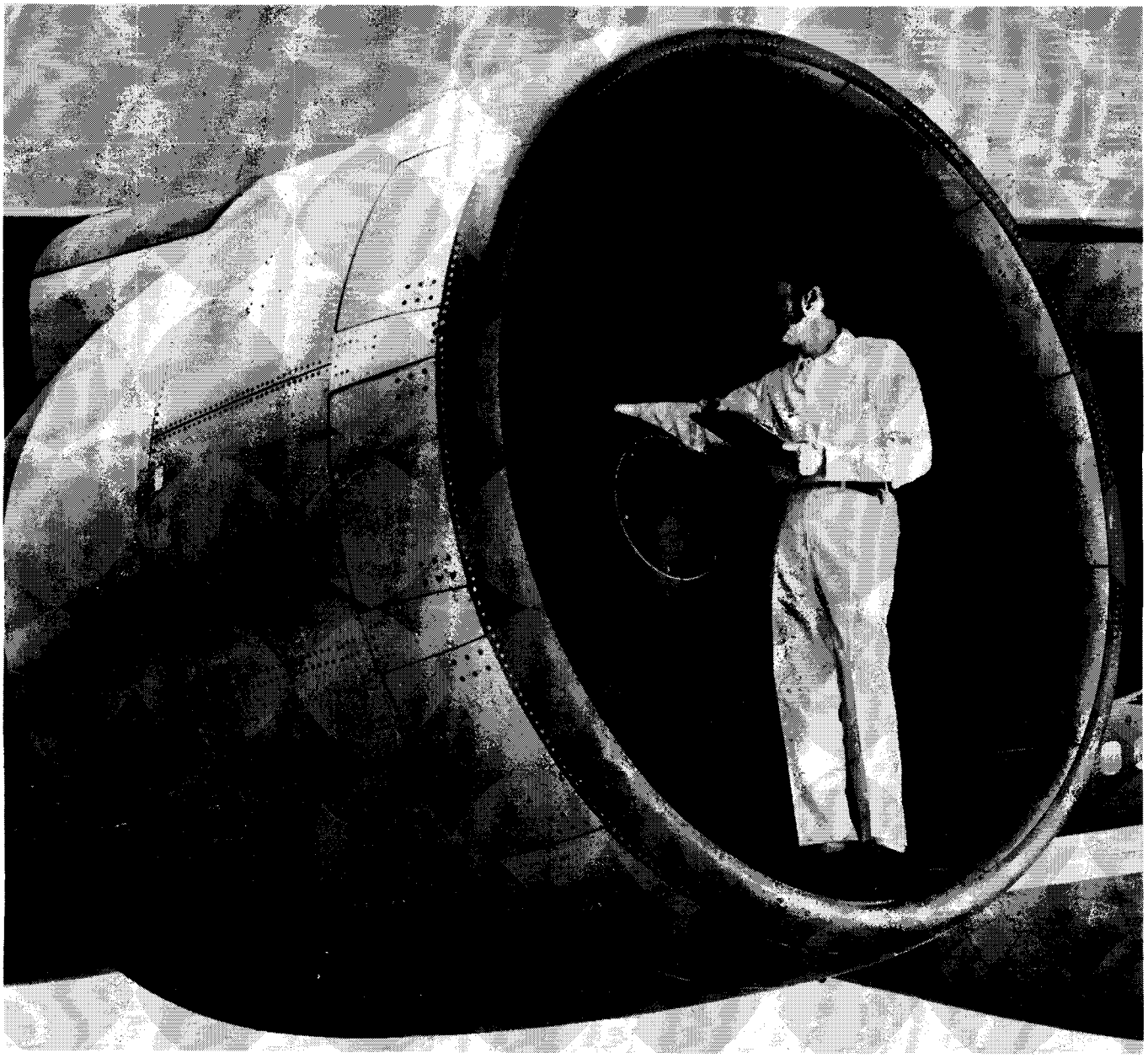

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THE WEEK

■ Note on the most intelligent, best informed generation in our history: A survey of 436 Arizona State University students disclosed that 1) a fourth could not identify North and South Vietnam on an unlabeled map; 2) a third could not name a single ally fighting with the United States; 3) fewer than 10 per cent could name a single North Vietnamese leader; 4) a fourth did not know the name of the capital of South Vietnam.

■ It looks like curtains for the national political ambitions of Texas boy wonder, Lieutenant Governor Ben Barnes. In last week's Democratic primary for the gubernatorial nomination, predicted-winner Barnes trailed in third behind millionaire rancher Dolph Briscoe and reform candidate Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson. Incumbent Preston Smith showed a poor fourth. Barnes explained away his defeat as part of the mood of Texas voters "to throw the rascals out," and considering both his and Smith's implication in the stock scandal that rocked the state last year, he is very probably correct.

■ Congress is expected to bail out Amtrak, the tax-subsidized rail passenger service, from its $154-million loss. That the red ink is already half again as large as was anticipated should come as no surprise. First of all, the political nature of Amtrak makes it vulnerable to pressures to run unprofitable trains and to forbid the elimination of union featherbedding. Secondly, the Amtrak guarantee of profits provides an incentive for railroad managers to raise, rather than lower, operating costs. Finally, there have been no performance goals attached to the subsidies, so little effort has been made to improve speed or services to attract passengers. (There certainly have been no Amtrak innovations remotely comparable to the successful private train from New York to Florida which ships passengers along with their cars.) Perhaps the nationalized rail services could convert red ink to black by adopting Galbraith's suggestion of nationalizing the auditors.

■ Who said the League of Women Voters isn't the place for a with-it woman. At the League's thirtieth annual convention the women 1) voted for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia and 2) overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to allow the admission of men. What's more, the women jumped to their feet and applauded guest speaker Gloria Steinem when she said husbands owe their wives at least $9,000 a year for the regular household chores they perform, "not including part-time prostitution privileges." Next time we call the League to find out who our congressman is, we're going to realize we're talking to a vibrant, throbbing creature who cares about a lot of other things besides telling us who our congressman is.

■ Senator Buckley recently addressed the Senate in support of a relatively strict ceiling on federal spending in fiscal 1973. He pointed out that "because of the compulsion to spawn new federal programs and because of very substantial increases in uncontrollable programs such as medicare and the housing program, the federal budget appears to be simply out of control." Noting that federal spending had outpaced economic growth, the Senator concluded: "We have imposed price and wage controls on the American people. It is time we imposed equivalent controls on ourselves."

■ Conservatives off, and running hard, in congressional races. *Arizona:* State Senator John B. Conlan, who made his mark as a strong law-and-order man, takes on Democrat Morris Udall (ACA-0; ADA-72) in the 3rd CD. *Georgia:* Stephen Maloney, of the Young Republicans, YAF and ISI, Associate Professor at the University of Georgia, is running against incumbent Representative Robert Stephens (D.) in the 10th CD. Maloney is for Richard Nixon on Vietnam, he's anti forced busing and anti a one-party South. *Idaho:* A wide-open race for the seat of Congressman James McClure, who will be running for the Senate against Frank Church. The conservative candidate is fruit farmer Steven Symms, 33, a conservative purist and enthusiast who says things like "God Bless John Ashbrook" and "Why don't we win the war?" and "Capitalism is a moral philosophy." *Pennsylvania:* William Pfender, a former policeman, National Director of Citizens for Decent Literature, has been nominated to run against Democratic incumbent Joshua Eilberg (ACA-14; ADA-89) in the 4th CD. Pfender lost the Republican nomination last time round to a liberal; undaunted he's running again this time on an out-and-out conservative platform. *Virginia:* James Tate, conservative, is taking on Stanford Parris, a liberal Republican, in the June 13 primary (Virginia's first GOP primary) for the seat of Representative William Scott, who will run for the Senate against Democratic incumbent William Spong.

■ Problems have already begun for the Democratic Convention's Credentials Committee, which will have the task of interpreting the party's new "reform" rules. The Arizona Women's Political Caucus wants to unseat thirteen of the state's 25 delegates to the Convention on the ground that women are under-represented. They make up 50.8 per cent of the state's population, but only 32 per cent of the delegation (and yes, we know that means they should only be contesting five seats, not thirteen, since they already have eight, but never mind). Male Arizona Democrats claim, "If an exact balance was not achieved, it was not the result of discrimination . . . [but because] women in 1972 are not yet a cohesive political group." The women replied that the party has not taken "effective affirmative action" to include women in the delegate-selection process. Terribly distressing, the difficulties the Democrats are having. Dear us.

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■ The two largest domestic steel producers have had to rescind past attempts to raise prices—not because of "price controls," but because they were losing sales to aluminum companies, smaller steel producers and, especially, foreign competition. Now the Administration has achieved an "agreement," through threats of protectionist legislation which will substantially limit the amount of steel imported from Europe and Japan. A paradoxical way to "fight inflation"?

■ Having read many reports foreign and domestic on the "most critical" Italian elections since the Second World War, we conclude that nothing much happened. The Communists are just about as strong as they were, the so-called neofascist Italian Social Movement scored some, marginal, gains. Two splinter parties, one far left, one far right, were wiped out. The Christian Democrats did a little better than expected, the Socialists and (conservative) Liberals made out all right. There will be yet another center-left coalition government but with the emphasis this time a little more center than left. Can it be that the Italians feel never so secure as when they have a government that isn't?

■ As time goes by the fear gets stronger. Someday somebody will ask the question: "Who was Joe McCarthy?" and not get the answer: "A vicious man who did irreparable damage to America." In order that that day may never come books are published. The latest, *McCarthy and McCarthyism, The Hate That Haunts America*, is meant for younger readers. It was reviewed May 7 in a special children's book section of the *New York Times*. The note about the reviewer told us: "Fred J. Cook . . . has written more than a dozen juvenile books and his latest adult work was *The Nightmare Decade: The Life and Times of Senator Joe McCarthy*." Perfect credentials for the job. Besides the McCarthy book, Cook also reviewed a book about Estes Kefauver, *Standing Up for the People*. The review begins: "One man was the right man who came along at the wrong time; the other, the wrong man at any time. . . ." Of course the right man was Kefauver; the wrong man was "the late junior senator from Wisconsin, who raged up and down the nation hunting Communists and finding none." One of the many nice things Cook likes about the McCarthy book is that its author, Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht, "demonstrates that the press, with its fetish for 'objectivity,' became McCarthy's helpmate because it quoted him uncritically. . . ." Cook also agrees with the author's conclusion that McCarthy "was an enemy of America's basic institutions. He came closer to destroying American [sic] than any Communist, foreign or domestic." Cook's own conclusion is a gem. After telling us we should never let "this disgraceful era" be "swept under the rug," phrasemaker Cook finishes: "It is important to understand how it happened and why, lest some other unconscionable demagogue comes along to play even more disastrously upon irrationality and fear in pursuit of some new 'accursed group.'" One bright note. The whole thing may be a hoax. The book's publisher is McGraw-Hill, and the reviewer was canned for, er, fibbing, by the late *N.Y. World-Telegram and Sun*.

■ Audience. One thousand (mostly) whites at the Chase-Park Plaza Hotel in St. Louis. There to cheer President Charles G. Hurst Jr. of Malcolm X College in Chicago. Who told them that "the American dream is dead." That black youth have a "festering anger" when requested "to salute the flag or stand for the national anthem." That Martin Luther King is looked upon "with disdain" by young blacks who are "entranced" with Stokely Carmichael's "philosophy of black power." We are on a collision course," said President Hurst, "unless racial problems are solved." Students at Dr. Hurst's college, are, according to the *St. Louis Globe* account of the talk, "limited to drug addicts, ex-convicts, unwed mothers and high school dropouts." And how's with the faculty?

■ Clarence Manion, former Dean of the Law School at Notre Dame, has written a provocative pamphlet, "Cancer in the Constitution," which centrally challenges the Supreme Court's arrogation of responsibility for the ebb and flow of human life. It is available ($1) from Young Americans for Freedom, The Cambridge, Suite A, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

■ Men's lib had better get organized. A female teaching assistant at the University of Oklahoma stripped naked in front of her English class, and remained naked while reading poetry, in order to protest against "a society which doesn't allow me to appear in my birthday suit at any time I please." The university had previously told her that she would not be rehired for next year; it has taken no more immediate action against her since the incident. However, when one of her male colleagues at Oklahoma U undressed in front of *his* class, he was fired instantly, and then admitted to Central State Hospital for observation. Maybe the only strategic solution is to put it in the curriculum: ECDYSIS, 10a,b.

What Nixon Wants

The customary sensationalist trappings have obscured the meaning of the President's new Vietnam turn. The White House contributed its share by the publicity build-up of Secretary Rogers' recall from Europe, the special National Security Council meeting, and the inflated rhetoric of the May 8 Presidential address. The media, it goes without saying, were only too delighted to take the hint, and go all out with eight-column headlines, hour-long TV specials, and hysterical editorials in the *New York Times*. The Democratic caucus in the Senate added its tone of frenzy, and college students seized the occasion for some spring-term trashing.

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Washington Nights (cont.)

Senator Proxmire, sauntering home,
Savoring visions of using a comb,
Met a marauder who stopped him and said:
"Mister, your money or mister, you're dead."
Senator Proxmire, suddenly mute,
Eyeballed the mugger, then told him to shoot.
"Fire!" he shouted with devilish cheek;
"I'll be a terminal case in a week."
Struck by the image and suddenly sick,
Proxmire's mugger took off like St. Nick.
If you're accosted by pistol or shiv,
Say you've got cancer and maybe you'll live.

W. H. VON DREELE

Actually, the amplifying commentaries by Henry Kissinger, Deputy Secretary of Defense Kenneth Rush and various military spokesmen beginning with Joint Chiefs Chairman Moorer prove that Mr. Nixon was not initiating a "major re-escalation of the war," not "provoking a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union," and not, in any strict sense, even ordering a "blockade" of North Vietnam. A blockade tries to prohibit any vehicle getting into or out of the blockaded area. But the official spokesmen have meticulously stressed that the U. S. Navy is charged only with sowing mines and, possibly, with preventing lighterage of some types of cargo if offloaded outside the minefields onto barges or sampans. "The instructions," specified Mr. Kissinger, "are to warn all foreign ships of the existence of those minefields, but not to interfere with them if they decide to proceed into the minefields at their own risk." This limitation is obviously designed to avoid the kind of direct confrontation with the Soviet Union, China or for that matter other powers that would appear humiliating and might thus provoke dangerous counteraction. Similarly, Peking has been notified that aircraft attacking rail and road routes from China and North Vietnam will keep well short of the Chinese border.

Undoubtedly, Moscow and Peking were informed of these rules beforehand, and it is likely that their response gave the President sufficient reason to believe that, whatever complaints they might utter in public, the American semiblockade would not cause a big military rumpus.

Even if the blockade could be made total, it would not directly affect the current situation in South Vietnam for many weeks at least, perhaps several months. And in fact, as shown by the 1969 CIA study that Senator Gravel has just read into the Senate record, the blockade cannot be made total. Thus the semiblockade has almost no immediate tactical significance and no decisive longer-term strategic significance. It must therefore be understood as not primarily a military, but rather a psycho-political move, linked to the other political elements indicated in the May 8 address.

On May 8 the President reduced to or very close to the vanishing point all of the diminished political conditions that he had theretofore advanced as a basis for negotiation and settlement with North Vietnam. Gone was the business about elections and electoral commissions, the timing of Thieu's resignation, the arithmetic for prisoner exchange schedules, etc. Gone also the preceding week's demand that the North Vietnamese invading army go back inside North Vietnamese borders. "We will stop all acts of force throughout Indochina" and "will proceed with a complete withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam within four months" if Hanoi will release the American POWs and agree to "an internationally supervised ceasefire throughout Indochina." What then about Thieu, about the composition of South Vietnam's government, about South Vietnam's national existence? "These terms are generous terms. . . . They would allow negotiations and a political settlement between the Vietnamese themselves." Kissinger resaid it the next day: Our proposal would "leave the determination of Vietnam's political future to the Vietnamese." We wash our hands.

We are now in a position to sum up what the President wants. In one word, he wants out. His military action—the semiblockade—is a screening move for his political proposition. He is asking Hanoi, Moscow and Peking to get him off the hook. He offers to meet, in substance, Hanoi's terms as these have been laid down for the past several years. He begs only that our withdrawal from the contest be carried out according to a protocol that can be publicly labeled "peace with honor"—by which is meant the release of our POWs, no Dunkirk-style exit, and no requirement that we publicly "join with our enemy to install a Communist government in South Vietnam."

For Hanoi, these are indeed, as the President calls them, "generous terms," and they guarantee Hanoi's achievement, in due course, of the aims of its protracted conflict. With its armies intact and firmly planted on the soil of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and the pledge of total American withdrawal in four months, Hanoi would not have to worry how "Vietnam's political future" would be "determined by the Vietnamese." It would seem logical, then, that Hanoi should accept Mr. Nixon's capitulation, after some of the standard hemming and hawing. But it may be that General Giap and his colleagues are not willing to be merely logical in this matter. It may be that they seek not merely their regional objective but the public humiliation of their foe—as they sought and achieved the humiliation of the French. If so, and if they believe their military situation makes this possible, they may scornfully reject the Nixon offer and, in spite of the damage that the semiblockade and the bombing will cause, will aim for a military victory in the field, the overthrow of the Thieu regime, and the disorderly retreat of the last Americans. It is even possible that Moscow and Peking, for their own reasons, now find the Vietnam war distracting to their grander purposes, and wish to be done with it. They may have

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

The President's appointment of L. Patrick Gray III as acting head of the FBI put a quick end to the regime of the late J. Edgar Hoover. After Hoover's sudden death, Clyde Tolson, who had been kept on after retirement by Hoover as his number two man, headed the law enforcement agency for a few hours. But Tolson's resignation was requested and received just a day after the funeral.

Meanwhile the President installed Gray in Hoover's place, much to the annoyance of Hoover aide John Mohr. The White House is said to fear an invasion of Hoover's files by the Jack Anderson staff, and the installation of Gray and removal to the Justice Department of Hoover's personal files were designed to protect the internal security as much as to assert immediate executive control over the organization.

Since a permanent director of the FBI will not be appointed until after the election, the appointment could well become a campaign issue. The White House believes George McGovern would appoint a director whom the public would think lax—perhaps former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. So the White House will use the appointment as an issue, with the President on the side of law and order and the Democrat on the defensive.

■ The surprising upset victory of Congressman Nick Galifianakis over veteran Senator B. Everett Jordan in the North Carolina primary has further decimated the Southern Democratic leadership in the Senate. Next January Jordan will be gone, and maybe some other Southern incumbents too. Senate Banking Committee Chairman John Sparkman (Ala.) survived his primary test, but faces a stiff challenge in the general election from former Postmaster General Winton Blount. The race may depend on how George Wallace calls the signals in the state. Judiciary Chairman James O. Eastland also faces a reelection fight.

Galifianakis, one of the liberal members of the North Carolina delegation, could be expected to be a moderate once elected to the Senate perhaps in the mold of William Spong (D., Va.). But he may not get the chance. The winner of the GOP primary was Raleigh newscaster Jesse Helms, well-known all over the state. With President Nixon considered a sure thing in North Carolina, this could be a good year for any Republican on the ticket.

■ In one of the classic reverses of recent political history, congressional Democrats may refuse to raise the national debt ceiling in June. Democrats plan to embarrass the President by forcing him to call for additional taxes or for tax reform to meet the challenge.

The President's response may be to call for a value-added tax (VAT), but Administration financial and political strategists are at odds over VAT. Although the tax is popular in both the Treasury Department and in the Office of Management and Budget, the pols fear it will be unpopular with consumers, since it necessitates across-the-board price increases whenever it is imposed.

What really worries Administration officials is the prospect of having to seek a VAT to raise necessary revenues but being unable to grant any concomitant tax relief.

■ One of the contests between Democrats and Republicans in Congress in the next two months is the health-care race. As a part of a Social Security overhaul—always a popular exercise in an election year—the inclusion of insurance for catastrophic illness costs will draw lots of support from both parties.

The huge costs of a major illness frequently leave middle-income families destitute. The aim of the catastrophic illness protection will be to provide most of the cost of medical treatment over $2,000. Senate Finance Committee members see both intrinsic merit and political punch in such protection for their constituents, but they are also worried about potential cost overruns and about the possible invitation to inflated medical charges. Medicare costs have run much higher than the sponsors of the original legislation dreamed, and high-cost medical coverage for the general public might mean another big drain on available revenues.

—CATO

made Nixon aware of this, and may be urging Hanoi to bring matters to a close. But it is also possible, whatever may have been their private communication to Nixon, that they, like Hanoi, will concert publicly to humiliate their foe.

McGovern in Phase Two

James Burnham notes (see "The Protracted Conflict") that some of George McGovern's policy pronouncements may be mere demagogy and not serious proposals at all. Nevertheless, it is a chilling thought that now only Hubert Humphrey, an aging and somewhat battered Happy Warrior, stands between McGovern and the Democratic nomination. McGovern's nomination would mean that the Wallaceite Left, forced into a third-party ghetto in 1948 by the Democratic Establishment under Harry S. Truman, had now risen to control the party itself.

The McGovern advance upon the nomination is now, however, in a peculiarly delicate phase, and McGovern's tactical problem is a tricky one. His hard-core supporters and his most zealous campaign workers have been attracted to his cause not only because of his antiwar stand but because of his left positions on a variety of things: amnesty, busing, abortion, military spending, marijuana, confiscatory taxation and income redistribution. During the past two years McGovern has been saying all the "correct" things on these issues. But it is doubtful that he can continue to do so and also attract the broader support he needs to be nominated, let alone elected.

McGovern need not, of course, explicitly repudiate these left positions. He can merely allow them to recede from view, become subordinate, and gradually give way to other themes. This, in fact, began to happen in Nebraska, where Hubert Humphrey came within a few percentage points of undoing in three weeks what McGovern had accomplished in two years of organizing. Amnesty for draft-dodgers, as presented by McGovern in Nebraska, was transformed from a moral rallying-point, a way of indicting the war and all who had supported it and fought it, into a normal, even mundane American thing

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Memo to: NR Readers, young and old

From: J.P. McFadden

Re: something that may interest you

Two years ago Bill Buckley brought out a book that every student or young person ought to have handy, and almost anybody (not just conservatives) would, I think, enjoy having. Yet the book remains virtually unknown. So I want to tell you about it -- and also explain how you can get a copy of it right now (for yourself, or for some young person you care about) for less than a dollar (95¢, to be exact).

The original edition was called "Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?" and was big and expensive (over 550 pps., $8.50). It was published almost simultaneously with two other books by WFB, both of which got much more publicity and attention, causing this one, as I say, to be overlooked, which was a shame, because in many ways it's the most unusual thing Bill has ever done: he has brought together, in this one volume, the best conservative thought of the century, which he personally selected and edited (and introduces to you with an original and illuminating essay).

In addition, it includes selections from Frank S. Meyer, James Burnham, Whittaker Chambers, Willmoore Kendall, Max Eastman, Henry Hazlitt, Milton Friedman, John Courtney Murray, Albert Jay Nick, Ernest van den Haag, Jane Jacobs, Russell Kirk, Hugh Kenner, Leo Strauss, Christopher Dawson, Eric Voegelin, Jeffrey Hart, among others perhaps less well-known to the average reader.

It is carefully indexed, so that you can instantly find that quote you want, and also arranged according to subjects, so you can pick and choose just what you like.... As a matter of fact, there is so much one could say about this book that it is not at all easy to describe. I asked Bill: "How would you describe it?" and he answered: "Well, it's all the things I wish I could say when somebody runs up to me after a speech or whatever, and says 'Mr. Buckley, what do you think I should read?'" It is certainly a book worth having.

The point is, it is now available, unabridged, in a handsome new softcover edition. Although right now still so expensive ($3.75), our hope is that enough of you will rush to get a copy that our quantity discount (plus no billing charges) will allow us to send you a postpaid copy for just 95¢ -- and we'll mail it to you, or to anyone you designate on the card opposite this page. With graduation time upon us, this is the perfect time to get one (or more -- you may want to send a gift subscription of NR to the student as well) of these books at a price so low that we may not be able to repeat the offer.

So I hope you will use the card facing this page right now, before you forget. It has full instructions about how to order, for yourself, for others, etc., and at this low 95¢ price you really can't afford to miss it, right? Many thanks.

J.P.Mc.

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Metropolitan Maoism

In its hectic pursuit of radical chic, the Metropolitan Museum recently showed a lavishly captioned exhibition of photographs portentously titled "Behind the Great Wall." Designed to reflect, according to the press release, "the impressions . . . of nearly a dozen perceptive visitors to China" over the past hundred years, in fact the show presents a "Before and After" view that Mao himself could enthusiastically endorse as an authoritative example of agitprop.

Not a cliché is missing. China in the 1870s—a land of opium dens, sweating rickshaw drivers, exploited peasants, bloated landlords. "China trying to free itself from the rule of feudal war lords between 1900 and 1949" (press releases tend to be all-inclusive), as seen by those unbiased observers, Edgar Snow and his former wife, Helen Foster Snow. Casual snapshots of Mao and Company exhorting the peasants of Yenan; in contrast, posed portraits of Kuomintang leaders (including Madame Chiang Kai-shek playing the Lady Bountiful in visits to schools and hospitals) on the opposite wall. The impression that the former were the Good Guys, and the latter the Bad, is reinforced by the lengthy citations from the Snows' writings which accompany the Yenan scenes. Some captions are outright misleading, as, for instance, a group of Kuomintang officials bidding farewell to a swastika-flagged train with the legend: "German military advisers to Chiang Kai-shek leaving Hankow July 3, 1938." Obviously, one is meant to believe that Chiang was a Nazi tool; but in point of fact, one of his political advisers was an anti-Nazi German refugee named Max Brauer who left China in 1938, and served as Social Democratic mayor of Hamburg in the postwar years. The section on the Communist takeover is punctuated with captions hailing the benevolence of the Red Army (". . . These troops march along chanting the three commandments: 'Do not take even a needle or thread. Consider these people as your family. All that you have borrowed you must return' "); that on the Fifties and Sixties is no more informative than the outpourings that engulfed our TV screens during the Nixon visit. The upheavals of the Cultural Revolution, for which considerable photographic material exists, are omitted entirely, which seems particularly strange in a museum dedicated to Cultural Evolution, Western style.

The most charitable explanation for this shocking display may be that the Metropolitan hoped to mollify those critics who have (rightly) lamented its neglect of photography as an art. But few of these photographs merit this designation; at best, they are historical documents which have been transformed by their manner of presentation into propaganda messages. Propaganda, unless so labeled, has no place in a museum, especially the Metropolitan which is, according to its name and character, a Museum of Art.

R. BERENSON

to do after a war: Calvin Coolidge had granted amnesty, noted McGovern.

Will it work? McGovern has written off the South, but this in turn means that support becomes essential from blue-collar and middle-class suburban voters in the North, and, crucially, in Oregon and California. In the big industrial states, the blue-collar voters are heavily Catholic. Can McGovern render his positions on, say, busing or marijuana acceptable to them? Was Calvin Coolidge in favor of busing?

Or, alternatively, can he mute or even jettison these positions and still retain the allegiance of his zealous hard-core and his left-chic fat cats?

Hubert Humphrey cannot exploit this contradiction in the McGovern operation. If Humphrey destroyed McGovern by focusing on his leftist positions, McGovern's erstwhile supporters would certainly render the nomination worthless to Humphrey by splitting with the party.

From the White House, the perspective is different. Should Republican spokesmen begin to call attention to McGovern's left positions now, or, on the—perhaps doubtful—ground that he would be easier to defeat than Humphrey, wait until the campaign? From the standpoint of a disinterested patriotism, on the other hand, the nomination of Humphrey is clearly preferable to that of McGovern.

Nixon on Abortion

True enough, Richard Nixon needs the votes of socially conservative Catholics if he is to remain in office; and true enough, he is in trouble with the heavily Catholic New York Conservative Party. And therefore, it follows, the letter he wrote to Cardinal Cooke of New York who has been leading the attack on New York State's very liberal abortion law: "I would personally like to associate myself with the convictions you deeply feel and eloquently express." But it would be unduly cynical to suppose that his motives were purely political.

Last April Nixon directed that abortion procedures at hospitals on military bases conform to state laws, and added the personal comment: "From personal and religious beliefs I consider abortion an unacceptable form of population control." This statement has been widely ridiculed, and indeed it is not especially felicitous—appearing, as it does, to distinguish between "personal" and "religious" beliefs. But Nixon is no Melbourne, who once remarked that Christianity was all very well, except that it kept intruding into one's private life. Nixon was objecting to abortion on religious grounds, but also on the grounds of ethical beliefs distinct from religion and perhaps personally derived.

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Nixon's position on abortion thus appears to be both politically opportune and a matter of conviction. The conclusion of his April statement, indeed, had more than a touch of eloquence: "A good and generous people will not opt, in my view, for this kind of alternative to its social dilemmas. Rather, it will open its hearts and homes to the unwanted children of its own, as it has done for the unwanted millions of other lands."

Revisionist History and FDR

Since the early 1960s a number of historians, usually associated with the New Left, have been proposing a novel interpretation of the period following World War II. To summarize it briefly: The origin of the cold war is to be found not in Stalin's expansionist aims in Europe and elsewhere, which were nonexistent, but in the inexperience of Harry Truman and the malevolence of his top advisers. The rationale of the cold war, set forth in the Truman Doctrine and then implemented by our intervention in Greece, provided the basis for our network of global "entanglements," and led to our deplorable intervention in Korea, in South Vietnam and, less spectacularly, in a host of other places. Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon are perceived as, at best, five blind mice; and, at worst, they shall live in infamy. American postwar foreign policy, on this view, was based on an incredible mis-perception of Communist intentions, and, had FDR lived, all this would never have come to pass.

Francis L. Lowenheim, a Professor of History at Rice, has unearthed documents at the FDR Library at Hyde Park which shed new light on Roosevelt's perception of the Soviets and their ambitions just prior to his death in April 1945.

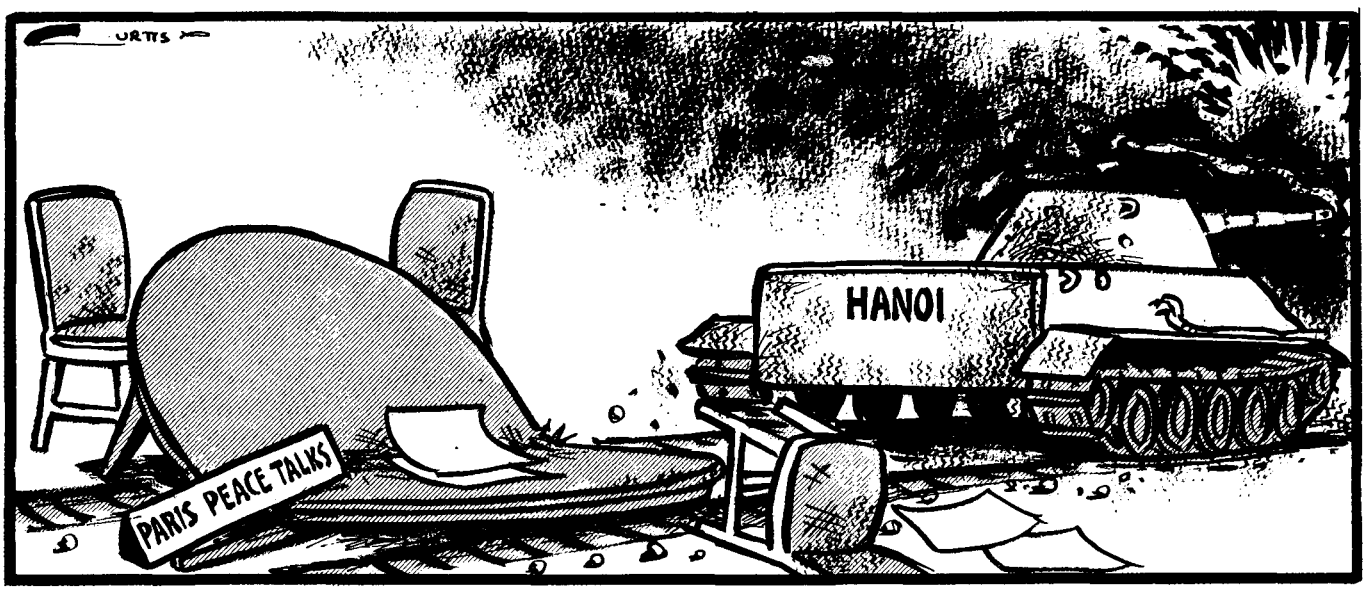
Winston Churchill had begun to harbor deep suspicions regarding Soviet intentions in Europe, which he communicated to Roosevelt on April 5. He wrote Roosevelt recommending that "a firm and blunt stand" be made by England and the U.S. "I believe this is the best chance of saving the future. If they are convinced that we are afraid of them and can be bullied into submission, then indeed I should despair of our future relations with them and much else." Churchill's operative conclusion was: "All this makes it the more important that we should join hands with the Russian armies as far to the east as possible and if circumstances allow, enter Berlin."

Roosevelt apparently agreed. On April 6 he replied by cable: "I am in general agreement with your opinion expressed in 934, and I am pleased with your very clear strong message to Stalin No. 935. We must not permit anybody to entertain a false impression that we are afraid. Our armies will in a very few days be in a position that will permit us to become 'tougher' than has heretofore appeared advantageous to the war effort."

Historical documents must be handled with caution, and Roosevelt's reply is not necessarily to be taken at face value. Nevertheless, as it stands, it points to a continuity in U.S. perception of Soviet intentions rather than to the sharp break under Truman posited by the New Left revisionists.

Chilean Notes

Two days after Salvador Allende announced that he would seek to nationalize the holdings in Chile of "imperialist penetrator" ITT, an agreement was reached in Paris to refinance Chile's $3.1 billion external debt. American banks will provide $300 million in refinancing funds in return for Chile's promise to pay "just compensation for all nationalizations in conformity with Chilean *and* international law." United States participation in the Paris agreement has been widely lauded on the basis that 1) "defending American corporate giants" at the expense of Chile's economic stability



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would force her into exclusive trade with the Soviet bloc —never mind that trading with the Soviet bloc is a barter affair, e.g., Russian tractors for Chilean copper, and that what Chile needs desperately is foreign exchange, a Western commodity—and that 2) we must do nothing that might impel a reluctant Allende into the arms of the organized revolutionary Left.

Allende's disintegrating control over his own constituency may leave him little choice. Last week at Chuquicamata, Chile's largest nationalized copper mine, eight thousand miners halted production, at a loss to the government of over $800,000 a day, in protest against government appointees as worker representatives on the management council; and in Melipilla, peasants are seizing farms in complete disregard of the government's agrarian reform program because as one worker put it, "We don't want to pass from a private boss to a new boss, the state."

Though Allende did deplore the bloody tactics of the MIR, particularly after his candidate was trounced in Linares Province where the Miristas rampage at will, subsequently there is news of: 1) government cars used as arms carriers; 2) Cuban aircraft unloading wooden cases that don't resemble sugar cane and are whisked away by agents of the civil police; 3) a "Che Guevara" Mirista group leaving its ragtag encampment near Melipilla for new headquarters in Santiago, a site chosen by —and on the direct invitation of—Salvador Allende. Led by the Cuban "El colorín Bruno," the Guevaristas are fully armed, in direct radio contact with their fellow Miristas and, by their own claim, under orders from the President.

What part does the army play in Allende's machinations? Pablo Fontaine, priest-politician, Marxist, and one of the growing horde of Allende's ex-supporters, believes that Allende deliberately seeks violent confrontation and that he can count on support from both the armed forces and MIR. "Russian roulette," says Fontaine, which could catapult Chile into either a Communist or a military dictatorship. And from a Chilean housewife: "The Unidad Popular *wants* a civil war; and all of us who want to defend our democracy are ready . . . I am truly anguished. I think of all of Chile, I think of my sons and I am happy you are not here."

J. Edgar Hoover, RIP

Uncompromising assessments were forthcoming from the expected sources: "Anybody who would say anything against J. Edgar Hoover would be maligning him" (John Mitchell). . . . "If you believe in human freedom, you must say that we are better off in America with Hoover gone" (Pete Hamill). Some could muster nothing: "I think we can openly be sad over the passing of any American, any citizen, any mortal" (George McGovern). . . . "He has been a major figure on the American scene for a long time" (Ramsey Clark).

"But it was your idea, Dr. Friedenstraum, that we have a lot to learn from the Chinese system of education."

But many of his sternest critics displayed an even-handedness that transcended the customary niceties. Jack Anderson summed up Hoover's accomplishment: "When he took over the FBI 48 years ago, it was loaded with hacks, misfits, drunks and courthouse hangers-on. In a remarkably brief time, he transformed it into a close-knit, effective organization with an esprit de corps exceeding that of the Marines. Under Hoover's reign, . . . not a single FBI man ever tried to fix a case, defraud the taxpayers or sell out his country. . . . But we would be hypocritical if we didn't also make note of the FBI's excesses under Hoover. . . ." The *New York Times*' Tom Wicker, after offering some gentle criticism, reminds us: "Hoover was never charged with being too weak to resist improper political demands; over the long pull, his stewardship of the FBI files was reasonably good—but just flawed enough to suggest the damage that could be done by a weaker or less scrupulous successor."

Many of Hoover's friends on the Right were disturbed from time to time by the lapses—the poking into Martin Luther King's sex life, the premature exposure of the kidnap-Kissinger "plot," the reprisals against agents who presumed to criticize. The fact is, he inspired ambiguous respect on Left and Right alike. Liberals could not deny his incorruptibility or his over-all effectiveness, but were made uncomfortable by his firm anti-Communism, his tough stance on law and order, and what they saw as his insufficient concern for civil liberties. Conservatives applauded his vigilance against internal subversion, his unbending patriotism and his single-minded devotion to duty—but not without an occasional twinge as they contemplated the hermetic bureaucracy he created, and the enormous *power* he held through his knowledge, real or potential, of the minutiae of tens of million of lives.

It is remarkable that this man, formed—as we are reminded again and again—in the last good old days

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of American innocence before 1914, presided over an agency that is in many ways the very image of the modern superstate: faceless, powerful, adapted to the latest technology, almost inhumanly efficient. Perhaps such a tool could be used wisely only by someone born before man flew. We shall miss Hoover, and we wish his successor all the best.

Louis Budenz, RIP

Louis Budenz, who died last week at the age of eighty, was an important American Communist, editor of the *Daily Worker*, who was graced to see finally the perversion in which he was involved. He defected, and devoted the rest of his life to restitution. And did this in speeches and articles and books. And most conspicuously in giving evidence against his former associates. For this he was hounded, quite literally to his grave, and unquestionably in the great rage to pay back the excesses of Senator McCarthy by discrediting anyone who was concerned during that period to tell the truth about the native conspirators, Louis Budenz will figure in the history books as an accomplice of "the reigning hysteria."

Perhaps after that, he will figure for what he was: a dutiful man who spared no pains to atone for what he had done. As he lay dying in a hospital in Newport, Rhode Island, attended by his wife Margaret who was by his side through his long sickness, he worked on, with his memoirs. He and his family were destitute, living off the meager earnings of Mrs. Budenz, and the few dollars gathered together from dutiful friends of Budenz and his cause by Mrs. J. B. Matthews, widow of another pillar of the anti-Communist movement of the Forties and Fifties. It is endlessly repeated (the phrase was originally Robert Strausz-Hupé's) that it is a mark of conservatives that they do not retrieve their wounded. At least the conservative community has the satisfaction of knowing that the attentions and sacrifices of a few provided Louis Budenz with medical care. It would be good to know that he died confident that the United States had moved out from under the shadow. But, alas, at the end he was lucid.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley,

I have before me in green and white the Selected U.S. Government Publications pamphlet Volume 1, Number 6-1972. It states that for only 65¢ I may order a pamphlet titled "Effect of Ceramic Spectral Emissivity Variation on the Computed Luminous Emissivity of the NBS Standard of Light." Since I find it hard to trust the Federal Government, I am asking you—are they putting me on?

Sincerely,
Richard O. Crow
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Crow: Not at all. And if McGovern is elected, you may very well lose all touch with emissivity. Yours faithfully, —*WFB*

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In the course of my avid reading of your columns dispatched from China, I came across a line which must surely express your renowned capacities for wit and insight better than any you have written. You never fail to outdo yourself in displaying these capacities, it seems to me. I am a simple-minded reader, but even I can recognize your amazing control of the language. But I *am* a simple-minded reader, and, more often than not, I find myself unable to cope with the range and power of your work. However, knowing your zeal and condescension in informing those of us less gifted than you, I take this liberty of writing to ask you to help me in the difficulty I am having with this line of yours.

The column in question deals with Mr. Nixon's toast to Chou En-lai at the banquet given for him by the Chinese. You said, "Mr. Nixon began his speech by thanking Premier Chou for his government's 'incomparable hospitality.' At the hands of an ironist that statement would have brought down the house." Now, my problem with your analysis here is that I just don't understand what "ironist" means. I have troubled over this problem, even to the extent of a sleepless night, because I have the feeling that this word holds the key to your appraisal of the historical significance of the events of this trip, and therefore, to my understanding of the meaning of China and, more generally, of Communism itself.

As I see it the word could refer to one who is deficient in some physiological substance necessary to sustain life, and who, as a consequence, is fanatically devoted to the artificial replacement of this substance. Would that mean that Mr. Nixon's "statement" was comparable to a comment on a welcoming gift of yeast, through which the Chinese had designed to raise his hopes? Or could an "ironist" be one who spends his life in the mines in order to provide a crucial element for the building of a strong capitalist society? In that case, the "statement" might conceivably indicate that the Chinese had shown a certain ideological openness in an offering symbolic of the foundation of American life. And, perhaps, then, your reference to bringing down the house might suggest a great weight on the roof. Your language is so subtle and complex that one feels the resonances of its meaning may be virtually endless. I would have thought the word a poetic twist on hippy parlance, marking Mr. Nixon's statement as "heavy" and, thus, con-

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noting a close rapport with the Communists. But I know that you could never bring yourself to impute traitorous behavior to a man of Mr. Nixon's obvious integrity, or, for that matter, to any President of the United States. In any case, I realize that you would never dream of adopting that idiom, and I fully appreciate your revulsion at its users.

It has been suggested to me that the word "ironist" means "one who irons," a female ironer, so to speak. But I have pointed out that that word would be spelled with two s's, and that it is unlikely that there has been a typographical error here. Certainly, there has been no error on your part. And I further pointed to the fact that this would render the sentence virtually meaningless. After all, what particular significance could Mr. Nixon's statement have for the Chinese, if it came from a plebeian type like that. Of course, many Chinese are in the laundry business. It could be argued, again, in these terms, that the word would suggest an empathy between Mr. Nixon and the Chinese. But I doubt that. The Chinese might just as well take the "statement" at such hands as something of a slur. (Let me make it clear, that, as far as I am concerned, there is nothing wrong with the laundry business.) That might, indeed, "have brought down the house." But the truly decisive contention against this interpretation is that if this were the meaning assigned the word, then we would be subtly put in mind of transvestism through our association of the "statement" with Mr. Nixon. I understand how abhorrent this sort of perversion is to you, of all people. And the thought of it in connection with any American public figure, most notably the President of the United States, and particularly a conservative statesman of the stature of Mr. Nixon, is too shocking to mention.

Well, Mr. Buckley, as you can see, I am at a loss. Where could I turn for genuine enlightenment, but to you? God knows I have learned what I should about the true character of contemporary China from reading your reports. I can only say, Mr. Buckley, that learning to read you is the consummate learning experience. Thank you so much for your concern in this matter, and for your great work down through the years. Please pardon this intrusion.

Sincerely,
Irving Carrig
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Carrig: No no no! *What I meant was that President Nixon is a wood-man—you know, the golfer who characteristically uses wooden clubs intending to make long strategic advances on the pin. The tactician, preferring shorter strokes, is everywhere recognized as an "ironist." Any time. Cordially,* —*WFB*

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Did you see this, from the *Los Angeles Free Press*, March 3?

Regards,
Irene Oliver
Los Angeles, Calif.

BUCKLEY INDICTED
BY RIGHTIST YOUTH

PAUL MUNGO

William F. Buckley Jr., noted conservative columnist and publisher of the NATIONAL REVIEW, was indicted last week for war crimes by a dissident right-wing group.

The group, Youth Action, from Washington, D.C., declared that Buckley, along with thirteen others, "did commit high treason, war crimes against humanity, and various other crimes and felonies against American youth and the American people as a whole. . . ."

A spokesman for the group announced they planned to hold a public trial of Buckley and the others, including Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Kissinger, Henry Cabot Lodge, and both Nelson and David Rockefeller, in the Los Angeles area on Labor Day. An office would be opened in the county in July, they said, and at that time the exact location of the trial would be announced.

To SecDef Melvin Laird, Washington.
Dear Mel: Sometime before Labor Day, I'll be sending you a pair of coordinates, and expect you to do your duty. —*Bill*

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I see where the senator from South Dakota made a speech in a church.

Do you suppose we could get Humphrey and Javits to debate in a temple? That would be a case of a pedagogue and a demagogue having a dialogue in a synagogue.

Regards.
Svend Petersen
Rockville, Maryland

—WFB

Only in New York

You should have been at Carnegie
  Last week when Cliburn played;
The audience was simply *dense*,
  Half blue jeans, half brocade.
Van Cliburn, tucking in his tails,
  Ran through our anthem first:
Some people hissed, some raised a fist,
  Some sat, while others cursed.
He played Debussy liltingly,
  Plus Chopin and some Brahms,
But I'll recall how in that hall
  They sat upon their palms.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Geopolitics of Geo.McGovern

WHEN OPERATING on a democratic politician, even the keenest analytic surgeon cannot separate demagogic from solid tissue without killing his patient. Demagogy is of the essence of mass democracy. No politician is going to win a mandate from a mass electorate unless, at least to some degree, he "appeals to the passions and prejudices of the mob in order to attain power or further his own interests" (I cite from *OED*'s definition of "demagogue"). It is therefore impossible to assign a univocal interpretation to the words of a politician's "program" or "policies." In one semantic dimension they, or some of them, may express what he sincerely wants to do; in another, what he rationally believes it will be possible to do; in a third, what he judges, or intuits, will appeal most persuasively to the passions and prejudices of the mob.

In the case of George McGovern, I have no idea how much of what he says he really believes. Since he is an intelligent man, I give him credit for realizing the absurdity of some of the things he tells us—though history suggests that there are no limits to the range of self-delusion. Nevertheless, what he, having become a prime contender for the highest office in the land, says and advocates is an important political fact, whether its origin is his conscience, his reason, or the passions and prejudices of the mob. I want to consider, then, as political fact some of the things candidate McGovern has been saying about military affairs and foreign policy.

The point of view he has put forward is easy to summarize: He proposes a drastic reduction of both the personnel and the weapons that constitute our military forces, and a very considerable reduction in our undertakings and commitments beyond our national boundaries. He calls for a cutback in military personnel to the level of thirty years ago, the partial or complete liquidation of several major weapons systems now deployed or in production, and the abandonment of virtually all major new weapons systems now under development. Actually, the cuts would have to be even more drastic than his explicit proposals if the military budget were slashed as much as he promises.

The reduction in overseas commitments would begin, of course, with a total pullout from Vietnam the day after President McGovern is inaugurated, and would include, in short order, the recall of all troops stationed abroad. No more Americans would fight abroad under any formula. There is a sentence or two somewhere about "continuing to honor treaty obligations," but what this could mean in conjunction with the other proposals is not clear.

Downward and Inward

The McGovern foreign policy program obviously belongs to that familiar and perennial American political species, isolationism. Isolationism has always been a current in the American tradition, with periodic surges. But its specific meaning has depended on the specific historical context. In the beginning of our national history, the "no foreign entanglement" isolationism could equally well be called "continental imperialism": What it really expressed was the idea that the nation's destiny was to conquer the west and dominate the New World, and that this goal required keeping the U.S. out of European entanglements and keeping Europe out of American entanglements. Success for this imperialist-isolationist policy—and it was triumphantly successful—depended not only on the energy of Americans but on the technological fact that the oceans were then an adequate wall.

The upsurge of isolationism in 1914-1917, as historians have proved, was primarily an indirect expression of pro-German sentiment. The between-the-wars isolationism, also centered in the Midwest-Plains region, was partly a nostalgic carryover of the earlier sentiments and partly a reaction against both the slaughter of World War I and the sordid collapse of the Wilsonian dreams. Our currently rising swell of isolationism is also primarily a reaction, this time against the heavy burden of trying to act for a generation as world leader, and the special trauma of the Vietnam war.

But isolationism is now split into left and right varieties. The left variety, which is McGovern's, couples isolationist foreign policy with antimilitarism. The right variety, discounting differences in terminology, is similar in foreign policy proposals, but more or less the opposite in military matters—proposing a strengthening of military forces, and even, as some right-wing isolationists have phrased it, the transformation of the country into "an armed camp."

In the past, isolationist foreign policy has often been linked with populist domestic policy (cf. Senators Norris, LaFollette and Magnuson in the period between the wars). We find today that the isolationism-left of George McGovern and the isolationism-right of George Wallace are both accompanied by populism that is increasingly similar in content beneath the personal styles.

Isolationism is an attractive doctrine to the people of a big, rich, fat nation, especially after they have made rather a mess of several interventionist gambits. In the political marketplace isolationism still looks like a buy. My recommendation, however, would be for a short- or at most middle-term speculation, not a long-term investment. For all its undoubted appeal, there is a rather critical weakness in an American policy of isolation: It presupposes a world utterly unlike the world we live in. Isolationism —of a sort—could make sense in the world of 150 years ago and might make sense in the happy world of the future. But in the world of now, it takes two, in fact it takes many times two, to make isolationism possible. I can refrain from pushing the other fellows, but will they for that reason forgo pushing me? For a nation that enjoys half the world's goodies, has $100 billion invested abroad, and cannot dispense with several score materials brought from overseas, any sort of isolationism is preposterous. The antimilitarist McGovern isolationism is not only preposterous but suicidal. □

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THE OPEN QUESTION

Is It All Over in Vietnam?

ALFRED B. MASON

CURIOUSLY enough, just before getting my April 28 copy of *NR* and reading James Burnham's "Is It All Over in Vietnam?"—I had just written to *U.S. News and World Report* pointing out that no matter what happens in the current "Tet II" offensive, Hanoi can't lose.

However, I contest Mr. Burnham's argument that we fought the Vietnam war ineptly—and in particular, that the demoralization, caused by this failure, produced a moral collapse and this in turn, a self-righteous condemnation of the war and the sinful Establishment.

Here's the cause-effect sequence as I see it. My analysis does not put the blame on any Establishment, nor some dimwit clique of liberals or students or blacks or agonized intellectuals.

It puts the blame on democracy itself, as a system. And if democracy itself is to blame, no amount of patching the system up is going to solve the problem and produce a stable international system. And in this no-alternative-to-peace century, we've *got* to have a stable international system.

Let me add that I've got nothing against democracy. I'd be lined up against the wall and shot under any other system. It's treated me fine. I'd sure like to see the democratic system work.

But the human race does have to have peace. I say the democratic system is not capable of keeping the peace, no matter how you slice it up and patch it together.

SO HERE'S my sequence.

1. The Vietnam war was not the sort of thing where we could rush in and get a glorious victory in short order—too much danger of escalation to a nuclear holocaust with the Red empire.

2. That meant a long, protracted, "limited" war, without the sort of government controls (particularly over the mass media) that we ordinarily get in a full-scale war. It also meant that the government had to ask U.S. citizens for *sacrifice*.

3. As time went on, the sacrifice began to involve a fairly large percentage of our citizenry, one way or another. In particular, it involved a large and articulate group, college students, with ready access to each other and to the mass media.

4. The media exist in a competitive nexus, forcing them to *cater* to their customers—i.e., to publish what sells best for them. That which sells best is not necessarily either wise, fair, or true—even when all the communications in the media are added together.

5. The average citizen, or customer, is not situated where he can see the connection between his *individual* choices and any results that mean anything to him.

For instance, if John Jones finagles his way out of the draft, he saves something very important to him, i.e., his skin. The penalty to the nation as a whole is trivial; not a single one of his goals, even those important to the nation (e.g., victory in Vietnam might be one) is threatened by the choice which saves his own skin. In short, no *rational* motivation exists for him to sacrifice himself for any large collective goal.

John Jones gets no payoff for policies that require sacrifice from him. Such a policy, no matter how important for the long run, isn't going to get much support from Jones. And if the policy demands sacrifices in the near future from millions of Joneses, it's going to be pretty damned unpopular—in elections, and in the mass media.

Not only does Jones get nothing from the sacrifices he makes—he has no reason to try to think straight on the matter. If somebody puts out a plausible theory that makes him feel good (e.g., "The Arrogance of Power")—he'll buy it without too much critical thinking about it.

6. This creates a competitive situation for the media wherein measures that demand *sacrifice* for the future are *strongly* disapproved, on the most elegant rationalizations you can imagine. (Cf. the *N.Y. Times*, most college news organs, conversations in the college classroom etc.)

You can see public opinion go through the same gyrations over and over, whenever sacrifice threatens to become a need. Somehow it always turns out that what's good for everybody right now—is the best policy for the long run—and the only decent, moral thing to do anyhow.

Thus the first part of my sequence is the last part of yours. The Vietnam problem *began* with a self-righteous condemnation of the war.

7. This climate of public opinion reached its climax in 1968, when Hanoi had suffered a terrible military disaster in the first Tet Offensive. Every one of its calculations proved to be wrong. The U.S. military organization, far from being inept, pummeled the stuffing out of both the regular North Vietnam forces and the VC. By every normal rule of military science, Hanoi was *licked* on March 31, 1968.

BUT MARCH 31, 1968 was the date on which an almost unprecedented thing happened. An incumbent U.S. President, 100 per cent certain to have his party's endorsement for the next election, withdrew as a possible candidate. Nothing like this had happened since Coolidge.

8. Thereafter the Democrats lost the elections—another event with only one precedent, Eisenhower in 1952. And the new President, whatever his intentions at nomination, soon found that his hands were tied.

The minor and sensible expedition into Laos and Cambodia brought the country to the verge of revolution.

Nixon was forced to cut the Vietnam operation drastically, snatching defeat from the very jaws of victory.

He was also forced to adopt economic practices in which he has no faith, practices which have not worked and which nobody expects to work, for otherwise he must hand the job over to opponents who will do exactly what he's doing—more enthusiastically.

9. Following this, came demoraliza-

(*Continues on page 601*)

Dr. Mason makes his first appearance in NATIONAL REVIEW *with this critique.*

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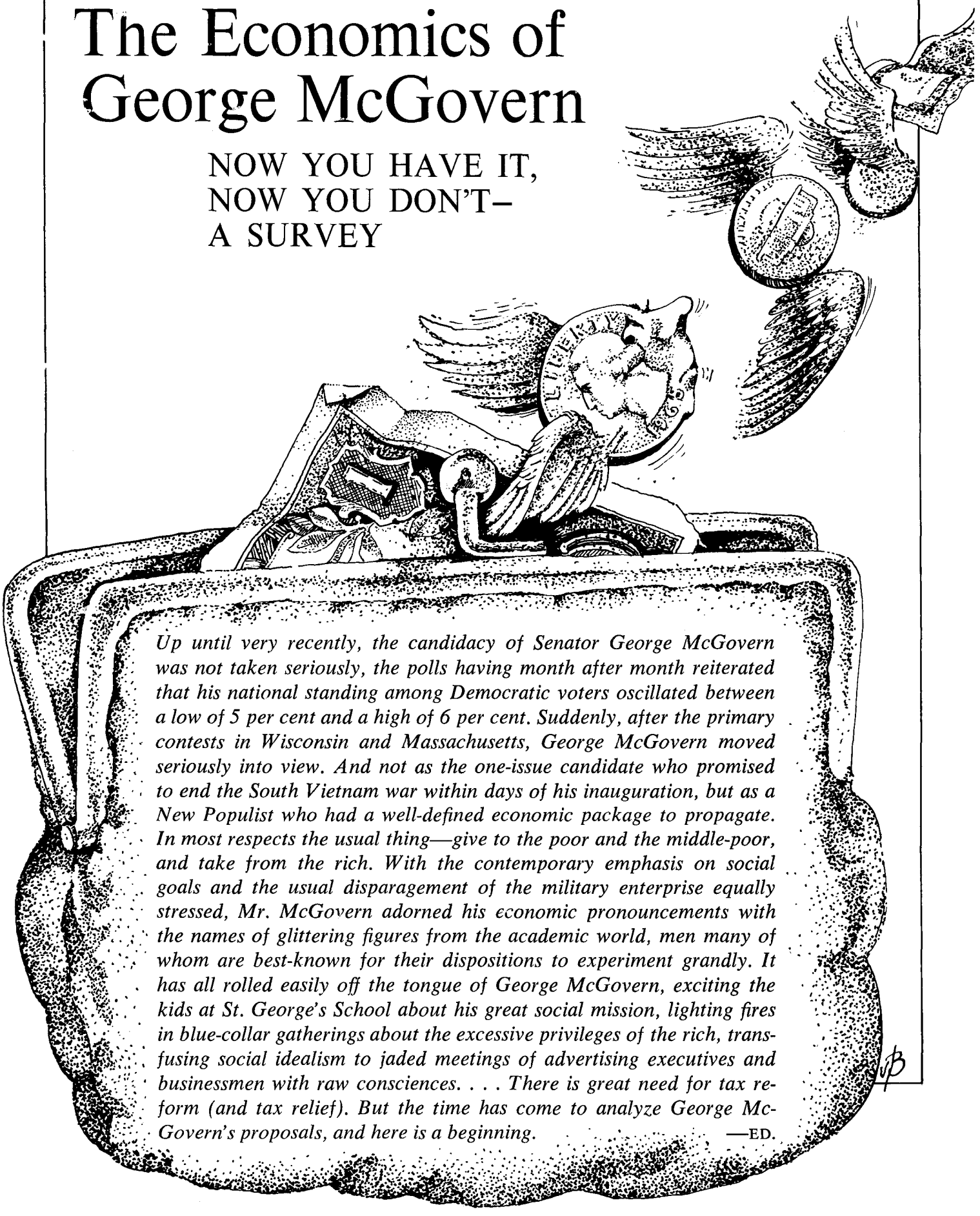
The Economics of George McGovern

NOW YOU HAVE IT, NOW YOU DON'T– A SURVEY



Up until very recently, the candidacy of Senator George McGovern was not taken seriously, the polls having month after month reiterated that his national standing among Democratic voters oscillated between a low of 5 per cent and a high of 6 per cent. Suddenly, after the primary contests in Wisconsin and Massachusetts, George McGovern moved seriously into view. And not as the one-issue candidate who promised to end the South Vietnam war within days of his inauguration, but as a New Populist who had a well-defined economic package to propagate. In most respects the usual thing—give to the poor and the middle-poor, and take from the rich. With the contemporary emphasis on social goals and the usual disparagement of the military enterprise equally stressed, Mr. McGovern adorned his economic pronouncements with the names of glittering figures from the academic world, men many of whom are best-known for their dispositions to experiment grandly. It has all rolled easily off the tongue of George McGovern, exciting the kids at St. George's School about his great social mission, lighting fires in blue-collar gatherings about the excessive privileges of the rich, transfusing social idealism to jaded meetings of advertising executives and businessmen with raw consciences. . . . There is great need for tax reform (and tax relief). But the time has come to analyze George McGovern's proposals, and here is a beginning. —ED.

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The federal tax system is basically sound, although it has been riddled with special privileges for the rich. We should move now to establish a fair tax system for all Americans.

On the basis of 1969 tax returns. . . some 21,317 people earning more than $20,000 paid no federal taxes whatsoever. That includes 56 people with incomes in a single year of $1 million or more. . . .

Most Americans subscribe to a fundamental belief of our Founding Fathers that we should be allowed to keep a fair proportion of what we earn but should not be allowed to inherit great wealth.

I propose a minimum income tax so that the rich could not avoid their share of the tax burden no matter what loopholes they used. One possible formula would be a minimum income tax to apply to all those with total incomes in excess of $50,000. The entire income of any person in this range would be subject to payment of taxes of 75 per cent of the current statutory rates at the rate they would have to pay if there were no loopholes. . . . If this minimum income tax were now in effect it would bring in approximately $5 billion during the present fiscal year and $6 billion in fiscal 1973.

I propose that the actual corporation income tax be returned to its 1960 level by the elimination of the special loopholes that have been opened since then. . . . Special loopholes, such as percentage depletion, need not be phased out. . . . This reform of the corporation income tax would raise approximately $9 billion in the current fiscal year and about $17 billion in fiscal 1973 (based on Administration estimates of increased corporate activity). Estate and gift taxation . . . should be reformed in the same manner as the income tax. Instead of proceeding to close loopholes one by one, a whole new system needs to be constructed. Gift and inheritance taxes should shift from a tax on the estate or giver to a lifetime cumulative tax on the recipient. . . . A base amount would be exempt from taxation—this amount is now set by the government at $60,000. Then a progressive tax would be levied, reaching an upper limit of 77 per cent . . . on an estate of $500,000 or more.

The reforms of the federal tax system relating to individual and corporation income taxes and to estate and gift taxes would result in additional revenues of about $18 billion this fiscal year and $28 billion in fiscal 1973. . . . Depending on how these additional revenues were applied, they could bring about the reduction or elimination of the local property tax for education; be spent on other urgent national needs such as rebuilding our cities, pollution control, adequate nutrition for all; or could go a long way toward financing the Minimum Income Grant program. . . .

I propose that every man, woman, and child receive from the Federal Government an annual payment. This payment would not vary in accordance with the wealth of the recipient. . . . Funds to finance the grant would be expected to come from those above a designated break-even income and would take the form of additional taxes. If the break-even income for a family of four were set at $12,000, about 20 per cent of federal taxpayers would experience a tax increase, while about 80 per cent would be able to keep all or part of the grant.

This credit income tax proposal would imply a redistribution of income of some $14.1 billion from those above the poverty line to those below it. The redistribution from those above the break-even income line to those below it but still above the poverty line would amount to $29 billion. These figures demonstrate that while the Minimum Income Grant would represent a total reform of the present welfare system, it would actually provide more money to medium-income taxpayers than it would to the poor. . . .

Another formula has been suggested by Leonard Greene, President of the Safelight Instrument Corporation of New York. Under his "Fair Share" plan, each adult would receive $900 a year and each child would receive $400. . . . Fair Share would be financed by the present progressive tax system plus a 20 per cent tax surcharge on all taxpayers. The Minimum Income Grant, according to Mr. Greene, would not be tax exempt. This proposal distributes the cost over a greater number of taxpayers but the burden on any of them is lower than under the credit income tax formula.

It would not be necessary to finance all of the Minimum Income Grant by tax increases. The billions of dollars saved in welfare benefits and the cumbersome administration of the welfare system . . . could be allocated to the grant. . . .

In addition, the revenues resulting from the kind of tax reform proposed earlier ($28 billion in fiscal 1973) could be applied to the grant.

—New York Review of Books, May 4, 1972

It is the Establishment center that has erected an unjust tax burden on the backs of American workers, while 40 per cent of the corporations paid no federal income taxes at all last year. I say that is an outrage. I propose to close $28 billion in tax loopholes for the rich and the powerful and use the savings to reduce property taxes, strengthen our schools and rebuild our cities.

—New York Times, April 25, 1972

I've said that we could close $28 billion in tax concessions for big corporations and wealthy individuals without hurting those people in any fundamental way, and use that $28 billion to pay for the reform of our welfare system, to pay for a job-training program that would put people back to work. . . . When you have a President that's a tool of the corporations, of course he's not going to raise corporate taxes. But I'm not that kind of a President. I'm the kind of a President who would speak for the little person, for the ordinary citizen, for the property taxpayer. —CBS, Face the Nation, April 2, 1972

A lot of people will write it all off as just more rhetoric, a something-for-everyone budget. It is a something-for-everyone budget. And I think it's about time that we have a budget like that. . . .

—The Humanist, November/December 1971

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Funny Money

"Tax reform" means different things to different people. To Wallace it means taxing foundations, to Humphrey it's wiping out tax shelters, to Muskie it's lowering Social Security taxes. To most economists it implies the elimination of inefficient taxes. To the public it means lower taxes. To George McGovern it means, primarily, the redistribution of income. In spite of all McGovern's references to income-tax "loopholes," he has got around so far to mentioning only two: the tax-exempt status of state and local bonds, and the oil depletion allowance. The first he describes as "unfair" but what he'll do about it he doesn't say; what the states and cities will do without it, he doesn't say either. When it comes to business loopholes, McGovern is also unclear.

Subjecting McGovern's complaints and proposals to light analysis:

McGovern complains that 56 Americans with single-year gross incomes of over $1 million paid no income tax last year.

Comment: How many of those 56 persons were chiselers in the commonly agreed upon sense? Or is McGovern saying that losses carried forward should be eliminated? If Jones lost $1 million last year and made $1 million this year, should he be taxed only on the profit? If Jones lost $700,000 last year, made $1 million this year but gave $300,000 to the Red Cross, should he be taxed on $1 million profit? Is McGovern suggesting that tax deductions be eliminated for charities, for educational institutions? On interest?

McGovern complains that almost 40 per cent of American corporations pay no tax.

Comment: Did they make a profit? Is McGovern saying we should broaden the definition of taxable income? If so, that's what he should say, and specify how. Which of the currently allowable deductions is he in favor of disallowing? Has he traced through, or attempted to do so, the consequences of such disallowance? His statement that ITT hasn't paid an income tax "for several years" is, incidentally, false.

Mr. Reynolds is an Associate Editor of NR.

McGovern says "each American should feel . . . that he is being treated exactly like every other American." That would seem to be an argument against progressive taxation. But then McGovern advocates a minimum of "75 per cent of the current statutory rates" for those with gross incomes over $50,000.

Comment: That sounds, in front of an audience, like a 75 per cent tax rate for more than $50,000—which isn't very different from what it has been in the fairly recent past, until two Democratic Administrations (Kennedy's and Johnson's) discovered that such high rates were unproductive, and got them lowered. But McGovern seems to be saying that above a certain level, deductions shouldn't count even if they are perfectly permissible at a lower level. Surely if deductions aren't fair or wise they should be eliminated. But is it "equal treatment" to allow 100 per cent deductions to a family earning $49,000, and only 25 per cent deductions to a family earning $51,000?

McGovern puts a $17 billion estimate of increased revenues that will come in from raised corporate profits taxes which is in turn based on "Administration estimates of increased corporate activity."

Comment: As it stands, the Administration's estimate of increased corporate activity is optimistic. But what if the corporations faced the prospect of an additional $17 billion in taxes? What effect would that have on whatever plans they now have to expand? What would be the effect on spending as these taxes, in the form of higher prices, are passed on to consumers? What would be the effect on our export market of higher prices? What would be the effect on employment of high prices and reduced sales? What will have happened to the $17 billion McGovern hopes to realize?

McGovern opposes inheritances (already heavily taxed) and would increase taxes on them to the point of realizing (it is a wild guess) an additional $5 billion.

Comment: Assuming that you taxed at a rate of 100 per cent (this was McGovern's first proposal), you would realize $5 billion or whatever—*once*. After that, for obvious reasons, Americans would arrange to die broke. The implicit social axiom is that it is better to spend money on yourself (the maximum income tax rate is less than the 77 per cent tax McGovern now pro-

McGovern's Proposed Changes in the Federal Budget
(in billions of dollars)

INCREASED EXPENDITURES:	
Family allowance program	43
Federal health insurance[1]	33
30 million new homes[2]	25
Day care centers[1]	20
One-third of education	12
Job training	5
Rural economic development	4
Urban renewal	4
Pollution control agency[3]	3
Public transit agency	3
School & hospital construction	3
Food stamp program	2
Crime & drug control	1
Scholarships	1
Total	159
TO BE PAID FOR BY:	
Reduced defense spending[4]	30
Increased corporate tax	17
Minimum tax on wealthy	6
Increased inheritance tax	5
Reduction of welfare	1
Total	59
Proposed deficit	100
1973 projected deficit	26
McGovern's total deficit:	$126 billion

[1] McGovern has not supplied figures for these proposals. Health insurance costs are based on the Kennedy plan (**Life**, March 5, 1971). Day care costs are based on Nixon's projections regarding the vetoed day care bill (**N.Y. Times**, December 10, 1971).
[2] Current plans call for six million subsidized housing units from 1968 to 1978, at an annual expense of $7.5 to $10 billion at the end of the period. We have used $5 billion as a low estimate of the cost of existing subsidy programs (excluding direct public housing) by the mid-Seventies, and multiplied this figure by five to reflect the five-fold increase proposed by McGovern.
[3] This is only the immediate objective: "If we are to end pollution," says McGovern, "there may have to be a federal commitment of the magnitude of our present defense budget."
[4] This defense reduction is problematic. If the Soviets didn't trim their own arms budget proportionately, McGovern acknowledges that "we might have to reassess these considerations; I wouldn't want to put the country in danger" (**Playboy**, August 1971).

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poses on inheritances). What are the consequences of such policies? For instance, on capital formation? On money leaving the country? Once again, McGovern's expected yield from estate taxation requires that no one respond intelligently or resourcefully, thus shrinking the sum of money being taxed. Surely it is obvious that more donations would be made by people while alive, that there would be more profligate consumption, that people would work less and retire sooner; that sort of thing.

"I propose," McGovern writes, "that every man, woman, and child receive from the Federal Government an annual payment. This payment would not vary in accordance with the wealth of the recipient." Funds to finance the grant would "come from those above a designated break-even income and would take the form of additional taxes. If the break-even income for a family of four were set at $12,000, about 20 per cent of federal taxpayers would experience a tax increase, while 80 per cent would be able to keep all or part of the grant. . . . This credit income tax proposal would imply a redistribution of income of some $14.1 billion from those above the poverty line to those below it. The redistribution from those above the break-even line to those below it but still above the poverty line would amount to $29 billion. These figures demonstrate that . . . it would actually provide more money to medium-income taxpayers than it would to the poor."

Comment: Everyone except the top 20 per cent will receive grants or reduced taxes totaling $43.1 billion. The top 20 per cent includes fifteen million taxpayers, but only a little over three million of them earn more than $20,000. If we (wrongly) assume that the over-$20,000 group would bear most of the cost, the average expense ($43 billion divided by 3.3 million) turns out to be about $13,000 each. Even if we took every dime of *gross* income from those earning more than $100,000—not even leaving them subway fare—we would get only $16.5 billion, or about 5 per cent of the amalgamated McGovern budget. The bulk of the expense simply must fall on the only sizable group of taxpayers above the break-even point: on those earning between $12,000 and $20,000.

McGovern gets a little uneasy about all this: ". . . The justification for the personal exemption on individual tax returns would be removed by the adoption of the Minimum Income Grant. If the personal exemption were removed, the Federal Government would receive $63.6 billion in additional tax revenues. These funds could also be applied to the grant."

Comment: The Senator is reduced to playing Nomenclature. The government will remove exemptions that provide $63.6 billion in tax relief, primarily at low income levels, and replace them with grants of $43.1 billion. Obviously if the grants are to fulfill their purpose the benefits must be a *net* increase over the loss of exemptions, so we're back to levying $43.1 billion in new taxes on those earning more than $12,000 a year, and McGovern still faces a sizable deficit.

But suppose that Senator McGovern could actually raise $28 billion from his so-called "tax reform." What would he do with the money?

Eliminate the property tax. But that would cost $31 billion.

Fight pollution. McGovern once talked about $78 billion per year for pollution control, but that must have been a slip of the tongue.

Day care and free medical insurance. That alone would take up most or all of the $28 billion.

Miscellaneous benefits, for veterans, nonveterans, old, young: *x* billions more.

McGovern complains that "the principal cause of inflation" is the Vietnam war. With its termination and with the cutback in defense, we could save $30 to $40 billion. However, McGovern's proposed federal programs would cost $100 billion more than his tax reforms and defense reductions would bring in. Added to the current anticipated deficit of $26 billion, you have a net anticipated deficit of $126 billion, and a Federal Government spending approximately $350 billion a year, which would mean that governments—federal, state and local—would directly control about one-half of the American economy.

ALAN REYNOLDS

Revenue Loss from "Loopholes"
(in billions of dollars)

State and local income, sales taxes	5.6
Charitable contributions	3.8
Property taxes	2.9
Interest on home mortgages	2.8
Interest on consumer credit	1.7
Medical expenses	1.7
Pension plans	3.3
Social Security; aged benefits	3.0
Interest on state and local bonds	2.3
Company insurance; nonwage benefits	2.1
Earnings on life insurance policies	1.0
Veterans' benefits	.7
Military benefits and allowances	.5
"Double" personal exemptions for students	.5
Unemployment insurance benefits	.4
Dividend exclusion	.3
Workmen's compensation benefits	.2
Disability insurance benefits	.1
Sick-pay exclusion	.1
Scholarships, fellowships	.06
Deductions for percentage depletion, exploration and development costs	1.3

Source: U.S. Treasury

Abolish Defense

The trick these days is to find the most sophisticated possible rationale for the largest possible cut in the U.S. defense budget. Senator George McGovern's "Alternative Defense Posture" promises to be a classic of the genre. McGovern indeed recommends deep cuts in defense—he argues for a fiscal year 1975 budget of $54.8 billion. It would take $84 billion to purchase the forces programed for 1972 in 1975 (taking inflation and higher payroll costs into account), so we are left with a $30 billion cut in search of a rationale.

McGovern does not anywhere contend that his budget would support the range of foreign policy objectives (e.g., military support of most U.S. alliances) discussed in his proposed defense posture: he is simply forgetful about that kind of thing. McGovern is, however, explicit in his views on our strategic nuclear forces. He states that the "overriding mission of U.S. nuclear weapons is to deter attack by hostile powers, by demonstrating the ability to absorb a first strike and then retaliate with enough force to inflict unacceptable damage in return. The only real defense to nuclear attack is to prevent it."

This strategy is an extreme version of the "Mutual Assured Destruction"

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(quite literally, MAD) doctrine developed in the 1960s by then-Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara. The doctrine holds that international nuclear stability is best maintained if each side retains the symmetrical ability to inflict unacceptable damage on an opponent in the event of a first strike. The United States, McGovern argues, can inflict such damage with "the guaranteed capability to deliver two hundred one-megaton equivalents on separate targets in both the Soviet Union and China." (This, by the way, is half the number McNamara insisted on as a minimum for "Mutual Assured Destruction.")

There are problems in this strategy. One of them is moral, the other practical.

If it is necessary to gear up one's defensive mechanisms in such a way as would result in the killing of tens of millions of people (the enemy's *or* our own) because there is no other way to achieve a deterrent factor, then it is permissible, morally, to do so. But there is another way.

Alternative defense postures *do* exist and *are* feasible (e.g., heavy ballistic missile defense, counter-force targetting etc.) which would limit damage to the United States in the event of the failure of deterrence. But you cannot begin to develop such deterrent systems while you cut down your defense budget by $30 billion.

The practical problem is that the Soviet Union has forsaken the MAD doctrine, something we began to realize in 1965.

A major policy study ("On the Essence of Nuclear Missile War") termed it inadequate for Soviet needs. A Soviet study in 1967 under the direction of Lieutenant General I. Zavyalov concluded that Soviet strategic forces should be directed "primarily against the enemy's *means of nuclear attack*." In a major strategy statement in 1969, Marshal N. I. Krylov, head of the Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces since 1963, reiterated the traditional Soviet view that there *could be* a "winner" in a nuclear war because victory was based upon one side having a more favorable relative outcome than the other; a position with substantial support from Soviet experience in World War II.

All evidence available from the character of Soviet strategic weapons deployment supports these strategic declarations. They have built offensive weapons that are capable of attacking missile silos; we refuse to do so. They have built defenses against bombers and ballistic missiles to protect their population centers; we are disbanding our defenses against bombers, and will not build defenses against ballistic missiles to protect our cities.

This means that the United States continues to be harnessed to the deterrent doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction while the enemy gradually disengages and heads for a first-strike capability which would deprive us of the deterrent factor by knocking out our offensive capability substantially, while arming Soviet cities with sufficient protective ABMs to catch the stray bombs that come in from our Navy or wherever. Richard Nixon has not gone far enough in guarding against the inertia of MAD. George McGovern would explicitly reject the technical accommodation necessary to guarantee our continued deterrent capability.

The consequences are obvious. In the great confrontation of the future, an American President would face the alternative of a) surrendering to a Soviet demand, no matter the scale of it; or b) exposing America's unprotected civilian population to nuclear destruction. The odds lengthen when we meditate that Soviet strategy now allows even for relative nuclear victory, while our own suicide-pact theory makes no such distinctions.

McGovern ignores the evidence, as he makes his case for the reduced army. For instance:

He downplays the significance of new Soviet missile silo construction, notwithstanding that reconnaissance photos reveal that the Russians are about to test new ICBMs 25 per cent larger than the SS-9.

He does not even acknowledge the existence of a new Soviet supersonic strategic bomber, the Backfire.

He does not acknowledge that Soviet ABM construction has resumed around Moscow.

He does not refer to the increased (ten per year) rate of Soviet nuclear submarine construction, or to their having passed (43 to 41) the size of our own fleet. He opposes new U.S. subs or the building of the new sub, the ULMS.

To support his case for massive cutbacks in General Purpose Forces (McGovern would, by 1975, reduce the

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I am opposed to our ABM whether the Soviets build one or not. I think we ought to halt the "MIRV-ing" of our present system if we can get some agreement with the Soviets to do the same. . . . I might consider halting it temporarily in any event, because we already have the capacity to blow the world up half-a-dozen times.

—National Democrat, Spring 1971

I would also . . . halt the development of a new bomber and new supersonic fighters and cancel construction of a new tank that the military is proposing. . . . I think [the Russians are] desperate to get out from under the same pressures we're under, that they're looking for some opportunity to divert funds away from the military into their own economic-development plans. If they didn't, we might have to reassess these considerations; I wouldn't want to put the country in danger.

—Playboy, August 1971

I liked what [Henry] Wallace had to say about foreign policy. I still think he was essentially right.

—Time, May 8, 1972

The Establishment center has constructed a vast military colossus based on the paychecks of the American worker. That military monster, now capable of blowing up the entire world a hundred times over, is devouring two out of three of our tax dollars. It inflates our economy, picks our pockets and starves other areas of our national life.

—New York Times, April 25, 1972

I see a $31 billion slice of pie that we can carve out of the federal budget today and reapportion tomorrow. A billion dollars could be cut from allocations for the SST and things like the ABM. Another $8 billion need not be spent in Vietnam, if we'd just end that damnable war now. Seven billion dollars would be released if we cut our forces in Western Europe by one-half, or at least asked the Europeans to pay half the cost of support. Fifteen billion dollars might be added . . . by making an across-the-board cut in that monstrosity called the military appropriations budget.

—The Humanist, November/December 1971

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number of active duty military personnel to 1.7 million, about 100,000 fewer than were in service six months before Pearl Harbor), he wildly overstates U.S. and allied capabilities and understates Soviet-bloc capabilities. His remarks on NATO are illustrative: McGovern credits NATO regular forces with 2.9 million men, 794,000 assigned to NATO's "Central Front." The authoritative *Military Balance, 1971-72*, published by Britain's International Institute for Strategic Studies, can find only 1.7 million Regular Forces for NATO, and only 642,050 troops assigned to the Central Front. Nor does McGovern assign much significance to the fact the U.S. and allied nations can deploy only thirty divisions to NATO within thirty days, while the Warsaw Pact can supply 55 non-Soviet and 119 Soviet divisions within the same time period—equipped with more than twice as many tanks, artillery and air-superiority fighters.

McGovern recommends major cuts in virtually every category of weapons, both Strategic and General Purpose. He recommends cutting the strategic bomber force from 527 to 190; terminating the Minuteman III and Poseidon multiple warhead (MIRV) programs at 210 and 112 missiles respectively instead of the planned 550 and 496; reducing the antibomber defense forces to a strategic surveillance role only (thus guaranteeing the Soviet Union two hundred heavy and 750 refuelable medium bombers and an unopposed "free ride" into the U.S.); eliminating all 54 Titan II missiles (our largest ICBM, about half the size of a Russian SS-9); scrapping seven of our existing thirteen aircraft carriers; and terminating the Safeguard ABM system even though it would be permitted under a SALT agreement.

Besides making massive cuts in our existing defenses, McGovern would reduce our future defense capability even more. Research and Development (R&D) expenditures could be slashed by $3 billion by 1975 (compared with $7.9 billion proposed by the Administration for fiscal 1973). The R&D efforts on the B-1 bomber, the ULMS missile-launching submarine, the Air Force F-15 fighter, the Navy F-14 fighter, all would be scrapped, and existing (and inadequate) hardware would have to be used. The consequences of prodigious Soviet R&D efforts (they spent about $10 billion on defense R&D in 1971) are simply not discussed.

McGovern inaccurately calculates payroll and retirement costs, producing at least a $1-billion underestimate in manpower costs. He allocates only $200 million for non-payroll operating costs, which compares with $11.4 billion for such expenditures in the current fiscal year. *Excluding* Vietnam-related costs, nearly $10 billion is now being spent on operating costs. Thus McGovern recommends a 98 per cent cut in operating expenditures. Even allowing for a 25 per cent cut in military and civilian personnel, $7.5 billion would still be required to buy the gasoline, ammunition, and related material to support the forces he recommends. Thus, McGovern's quest for a $30-billion cut has eluded him. When the force posture he proposes is examined in more minute detail than his proposal allows, his defense program turns out to cost perhaps $10 billion more than he estimates.

McGovern has proposed a defense posture for a world that does not exist. U.S. strategic forces are reduced to support a policy of Mutual Assured Destruction at a time when Soviet strategic doctrine and weapon systems deployment make it the most dangerous and inappropriate nuclear strategy we could adopt. U.S. General Purpose forces would be reduced to levels below those that existed prior to World War II at a time when all U.S. alliance interests are capable of being challenged by an incipient Soviet worldwide non-nuclear expeditionary force. The literal adoption of the McGovern defense posture could be the first step down the rather short road to a Carthaginian peace for the United States.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDER JR.

Mr. Schneider, formerly with the Hudson Institute, is now on the staff of Senator James Buckley.

Nothing for Everybody

It is for another time to discuss how on earth professional economists got associated with George McGovern's "economics." Enough for the moment to remark again the oft-remarked chasm between economic reality and economic theory.

Look at McGovern on agriculture. He is duly upset with the despair in the farm sector. But McGovern's suggested programs will do nothing to alleviate the problem he is seeking to solve. His proposals, however, should net him substantial financial support from large farming corporations. The Senator would like stricter enforcement of import limitations on meat, honey and dairy products. He would like 100 per cent parity on wheat. He would like coverage of agricultural workers by minimum wage laws. The list goes on. The proposals are not meant to help the consumer of food, that is for sure. A severe limitation on imports of food leads, without question, to higher food prices. An increase in the parity on wheat leads, without question, to higher wheat product prices. The latter will also lead to an increased production of wheat and a subsequent "surplus" problem that has plagued the U.S. Government since the beginning of the price support program. Farmers are not stupid. At a higher price they will produce more. Look, for example, at what happened when the Johnson Administration raised the price support of soybeans from $2.25 per bushel to $2.50. By 1968 the government had been forced to buy 300 million bushels of surplus soybeans at $2.50 a bushel. The same again would occur if McGovern were successful in raising the support price for wheat.

It is common knowledge among economists and many government researchers that our farm program is a complete disaster in terms of helping the people it is supposed to help. Today the nonfarming sector of the economy redistributes approximately $12 billion of income to the farming sector each year: $6 billion is in direct payments and $6 billion is in the form of higher food prices. If this redistribution went to help out the poor struggling farmers we might make a case for it. But the bottom 41 per cent of farmers receive only 4 per cent of support payments whereas the top 7 per cent receive 42 per cent.

Would you expect otherwise? A farmer benefits from price supports directly in proportion to the amount of

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The failure to create jobs is the most important failure of the Nixon Administration on the domestic front. I think the best way is to make a substantial federal investment to begin meeting some of the needs of the country that have been neglected—thirty million new housing units, half a million new classrooms, better public transit. We have an environmental crisis that can't be financed by private industry or municipalities; if we are to end pollution, there may have to be a federal commitment of the magnitude of our present defense budget. All this would provide employment for everyone who wants to work. Even a $10 billion investment would represent 2.3 million jobs. —Speech, Manchester, N.H., Jan. 17, 1972

The McGovern proposals include: 1) A mechanism to insure that farmers have the power to bargain for fair prices; 2) Prevention of the elimination of the tax exemption on investments for farm equipment; 3) Prevention of the use of National Reserve as a price-depressing device; 4) One hundred per cent parity on wheat; 5) Establishment of a federal wheat stabilization program; 6) Strict enforcement of import limitations on meat, honey and dairy products; 7) Elimination of tax loopholes for non-farmers; 8) Opposition to Nixon's plan to abolish the Department of Agriculture; 9) A halt to Nixon Administration plans to transfer the price-support program to the Department of Commerce.
—McGovern on the Issues

I think the President could relieve a lot of tension between blacks and whites if he stopped talking about welfare chiselers and said, "Look, everybody who wants to work is going to have a job. We don't know quite yet what you'll be doing, but you're going to have a job. And the government is going to guarantee employment at decent wages. —Playboy, August 1971

We are plagued with two mammoth problems that are largely technological and therefore the easiest to solve. They are: the lack of public transit, which is strangling our cities, and the related threat of pollution, which is strangling our people. What we need are two new superagencies. . . . Each of the agencies would receive $3 billion in the first year of operation.

Next, $5 billion should be used to completely relieve our cities and states of the welfare burden. . . .

We must spend an additional $2 billion a year beyond the $3 billion we are now spending to make the food stamp program reach all the hungry poor. . . .

Schools and hospitals are also needed desperately. We shall allocate $3 billion for building them. . . . The number of jobs this will create is staggering. It will take 234,000 people to build those schools and hospitals. . . .

For the cities themselves, I propose $4 billion, allocated in the first year at the rate of $200 million to each of the twenty largest urban areas.

In the rural areas, which many people forget, $4 billion will be used for economic development. That includes a higher parity level, so the small farmer can afford to keep on farming. It also includes money to develop processing plants, water facilities, and recreation to keep alive hundreds of dying towns. . . .
—The Humanist, November/December 1971

wheat he produces. Poor farmers, by definition, don't produce much wheat. They therefore will not benefit from Mr. McGovern's 100 per cent parity for wheat. In fact, there is no aspect of McGovern's agricultural program that can realistically be expected to help poor farmers.

And anyway, if Senator McGovern is planning a comprehensive welfare program, why does he need to single out the farmers for special care? If one proposes a program to help all Americans who are poor no matter where they live or what they do, there is no need for additional legislation to help special groups of "deserving" poor. Here, though, is where we find one of McGovern's inconsistencies. He has proposed a comprehensive income redistribution program to help out those in need. A comprehensive negative income tax or family assistance program is defensible, provided, of course, that it is used as a *substitute* for other welfare programs. But if we institute minimum income grants, why then go further? Why do we have to increase the food stamp program? Why do we have to guarantee a "good job," as McGovern wants, for every man and woman who desires work?

Jobs are an important aspect of the candidate's economic platform. We are facing high unemployment rates. However, his suggestions for improving the employment situation sometimes border on the ludicrous. For some reason McGovern believes that if we take away $30 billion from the Pentagon and put it into such things as environmental programs, housing and transit facilities, we will create "many, many more jobs" than we will lose by reducing the military budget. His panel of advisers should have warned him that standard textbook theory predicts just the opposite. In Keynesian economics there is a thing called the balanced budget multiplier. Basically, it theorizes that government expenditures just matched by taxes will increase GNP. A more refined analysis points out that the balanced budget multiplier has its maximum effect when the product that the government produces would not otherwise be produced by the private sector. Certainly the products on which the Pentagon spends its money are not things that private firms or individuals would voluntarily produce for their own consumption. Houses, however, *are* something produced privately, so McGovern's desired shift from Pentagon follies to useful and needed private products will not, according to Keynesian analysis, create more jobs, but *fewer*. Why doesn't McGovern just come out and say it: Let's simply quit wasting our money on the Pentagon; a reduction in military spending will most certainly lead to the production of more useful things for society. But the question of job creation has little relevance here.

War, of course, is the key villain in the McGovern platform. It has caused inflation, it has caused the balance of payments deficit, and it has forced devaluation of the dollar. True, there is a correlation between the rate of inflation and the size of our war effort. The same cannot be said, however, for the balance of payments deficit: We became chronically behind our balance of payments way back in 1957. Indochina really didn't get going until 1965.

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McGovern's economics aren't *all* bad. He is one of the first, if not the only candidate, to come out for constant purchasing power federal bonds (though the idea is very old). Since the rate of inflation has been and most likely will continue to be so erratic in the United States, many unsuspecting purchasers of government bonds end up getting a rotten deal. If inflation is not anticipated, bond buyers will not demand that an inflationary premium be tacked on to the yields on the bonds they purchase. If, for example, prices are rising at 2 per cent a year and the yield on a bond is, say, 6 per cent a year, the real interest earned will be 4 per cent. That's not bad as a real rate of return and many people will be satisfied with it. But what if the 6 per cent bond is held at a time when the rate of inflation goes from 2 per cent a year to 6 per cent a year. What is the real rate of return then? It is effectively zero. That's the kind of thing that happened to bond holders when the rate of inflation zoomed up unexpectedly in the latter Sixties. McGovern's plan, and a good one it is, involves increasing the value of government bonds each quarter to keep pace with consumer prices.

Total Gross Income by Class

(in billions of dollars)

		Sub-total
$1,000,000 or more	$ 2.4	2.4
500,000—1,000,000	1.6	4
200,000—500,000	4.2	8.2
100,000—200,000	8.3	16.5
50,000—100,000	21.6	38.1
30,000—50,000	30.1	68.2
20,000—30,000	51.4	119.6
10,000—20,000	245.5	365.1
under 10,000*	237.3	602.4

Source: IRS, **Statistics of Income**, from 1969 tax returns.
*Approximately $100 billion of this group's income derived from government transfers.

One good idea does not, unfortunately, make a good candidate. And, even more unfortunately, the pat fiscal policy measures that McGovern would institute in order to add millions of jobs to the economy sound suspiciously close to the "job-creating" fiscal measures that Nixon so strongly touted such as the Emergency Employment Act and the Job Development Credit. Bad economics has a way of creeping into both camps. Perhaps that makes for good politics.

ROGER LEROY MILLER

Economic Overkill

The Old Populism, with its accent on fiat money and its threats to "raise less corn and more hell," had its lunatic side, but, as historian Louis Hacker pointed out long ago, it shaped most of the social programs of the Rooseveltian and Wilsonian decades. Free Silver never took hold, and such characters of the movement as "Bloody Bridles" Waite and "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman have been pretty well forgotten. Nevertheless, we owe to the Old Populism practically all the institutions that have made us a regulated and controlled people, from the progressive income tax to the eight-hour law, and from the Interstate Commerce Commission to the various New Deal devices for protecting the farmer.

Is it going to be the same course for the New Populism, which sounds vague enough when it deals in "soak the rich" vituperation and in grousing about the corporations and big foundations? When Hubert Humphrey is carrying on about tax loopholes, or when George Wallace is ridiculing the pointy-heads, the New Populism sounds like the Old Rhetoric or the Old Humor. But when Senator George McGovern bends to his populist subject we are in a whole new period of specificity. The Prairie Prophet from South Dakota has added a computerized patina to the simple soak-the-rich Bryanism of his colleagues. His program is short on rhetorical flourishes and long on stuff that sounds like a detailed readout from the calculating machine's most sophisticated electronic innards. And so one wonders. Maybe George McGovern is setting things up for some Louis Hacker of the future to say that the New Populism, while it began as campaign oratory, ended as the shaper of an entirely new order.

The terrifying thing about George McGovern is that he has figured out all the answers and then multiplied his findings by two. He has a program for remaking society by redistributing our incomes, and, what is more, he has specific tax proposals that he calculates will do it. I don't like his proposals, for I am not a leveler, but I must admit that his ideas, when set down with their arithmetical accompaniment, sound attainable up to a point. Like economist Milton Friedman with his negative income tax or Florida publisher John Perry with his national dividend, George McGovern comes up with a something-for-nothing proposition that is sanity itself when compared to the crazy wastes of our present welfare program. Under the McGovern scheme the poor would get money that now flows into the pockets of politicians and social-service workers. Considering the existing state of the world, and the ingrained humanitarianism of modern society, what more are we entitled to ask? The trouble is that George McGovern has no idea of where to stop.

McGovern's plan for redistributing incomes has a mixed ancestry but in its general outlines it follows the "fair share, full incentive" plan worked out by a White Plains, New York, flight instrument manufacturer, Leonard Greene. Mr. Greene's hobby is playing with computers. He was, for a brief moment, inclined to give Richard Nixon and Daniel Moynihan an "E" for effort for suggesting the so-called Family Assistance Plan.

But when the computer-worshiping Mr. Greene shoved Mr. Nixon's figures into his calculator he discovered that any welfare recipient who made $61 a month over the Moynihan basic guarantee of $2,400 for a family of four would find himself in a 67 per cent tax bracket (federal and state combined). This, so Mr. Greene concluded, would effectively discourage any incentive to take jobs under Nixon Family Assistance. It wouldn't substitute "workfare" for "welfare."

In place of our whole rigmarole of welfare grants, child assistance and whatnot, with its case-worker bureaucracy, Mr. Greene suggests direct payments from the U.S. Treasury of $2,600 to every family of four in the country, whether rich or poor. There would be no tax on the first $1,000 earned by any family over and above the basic $2,600. The tax on the second $1,000 would be a mere $134, which would leave the family an after-tax net of

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$4,466. Thus there would be every incentive to take jobs. To pay for the "fair share" gift to people in the lower brackets, Mr. Greene points out that the Treasury would have billions (one estimate goes as high as $70 billion) that would be saved by firing our present antipoverty bureaucracy, dismantling our farm programs and dropping other subsidies. As for the people in the higher brackets, they would be forced to disgorge their own "fair share" gifts by steeply rising tax rates. There would be a 20 per cent tax surcharge to get the Greene plan going, but at least theoretically, the rich wouldn't mind this when they saw the poor going back to work at jobs that would increase the gross national product and thus permit tax reductions as the total tax volume increased.

McGovern's own figures differ somewhat from Mr. Greene's and he mentions another choice, a plan for a $1,000 credit payment to individuals that has been elaborated by the Yale economist, Professor James Tobin. Whether it is Tobin or Greene hardly matters. What does matter is that McGovern, the politician, would not trust his new workfare-happy families to find housing for themselves, or to stay at home in the less populated areas, or to restructure their own environments with schools and hospitals and parks included. Under McGovernism the state would still be as busybody as ever and would require vast sums. The corporation tax would jump from 48 per cent to 52 per cent. This would give the government an extra $17 billion a year to pay out for public service jobs and for aid to education.

Beyond everything, McGovern has harked back to Socialist Norman Thomas' old idea of a capital levy. He has disguised it as a death duty of 77 per cent on estates that exceed $500,000, which would be practically confiscatory of the Kennedy-Mott-Harriman type of inherited wealth. (Personally, it wouldn't make me weep to see Stewart Mott, McGovern's big angel, lose his wad.) As for ordinary tax loopholes, McGovern would get rid of mineral and oil depletion allowances and tax-free bonds. Individuals with incomes above $50,000 would have to pay at least 75 per cent of the rates in the tax tables, regardless of exemptions. Finally, McGovern would cut some $32 billion out of the defense budget: The money saved by trimming what he regards as payments for military overkill would naturally result in unemployment, but government retraining and the growth of new peacetime businesses would be counted to absorb the displaced workers.

The question that naturally occurs is why the government would require all that money if, as Mr. Greene assumes, the sum that is needed to give everybody a basic income and put the country back to work could come out of our present wasteful welfarism. McGovernism, through the adoption of Greene's "fair share and full incentive" plan or the Tobin variant, would, presumably, enable people to keep from piling up in places like New York City's Bedford-Stuyvesant or Harlem slums merely to get more generous local relief. Yet McGovern suggests a superagency, an "earthbound NASA," to put people to work on vast public schemes—"all the things the cities and states now need, but simply cannot afford."

In short, he advocates solving our problems twice over. He would, through Greene-Tobin basic payments, enable people to stay out of the slums. Then he would tax the hell out of the economy to bring all sorts of social services to the very slums that Greene-Tobin economics would, theoretically, dismantle. Assuming that the Greene-Tobin redistribution of income would work, with most able-bodied people taking supplementary jobs in places where jobs are offered (i.e., not in Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant), why would the nation need a McGovern Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs to spend $5 billion to bring food stamps to the hungry poor? The whole McGovern program abounds in economic overkill. First, by giving people a basic dividend, he would enable them to decentralize. Then he would slap all sorts of burdens on potential investors to end "the blight of slums" and "put our poor in decent homes" and make "urban renewal" a reality. A suggested name for this is Redundancy, Incorporated.

By adding overkill to a Greene-Tobin plan McGovern would surely dry up the very sources of investment that are needed to support his dream of a basic minimum. After a generation of confiscatory inheritance taxes government would have a virtual corner on the large pools of risk capital. But money in the possession of a bureaucracy fecundates very little of a down-to-earth nature. It can take us to the moon; it cannot start the little enterprises that grow into the big enterprises of tomorrow.

McGovern is caught in a paradox. By going the Greene-Tobin route he would free people of the need for relief and would encourage them to take jobs. But by taking most of the incentive away from investors (why build an estate if your children can't have it?), and by taxing at a rate that must destroy most of the difference between a $50,000 and a $100,000-a-year income, why would anyone take pride in creating an organization capable of offering jobs to the masses? The poor, freed of want by a Greene plan, would have need of an adventurous economy to provide all the supplements that make for the good life. But McGovern overkill, piled on top of Greene-Tobin, would surely put the quietus on any possibility of the adventurous economy.

To me, McGovernism sounds like a sure recipe for stagnation. It would force full socialism, which would be a cure of sorts. But this would not be America. Take it away, George, we don't want it. JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Something Frightful This Way Comes

As George McGovern makes his bids
We all agree he's got the kids.
He's tops with profs who list to port
And mothers dying to abort.
He's got Tom Wicker in the bag.
In Sweden, AWOL's wave the flag.
I know what George McGovern brings,
But who's that lurking in the wings?

W. H. VON DREELE

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RELEVANT TEXTBOOKS

Guess what's just gone 'relevant'? Freshman English.
An analysis of a new set of anthologies
from which a student is apt to learn more about
Eldridge Cleaver than about the predicate nominative

Freshman English in the Age of Revolution

JOHN WILLIAM TEEL

THE POLITICAL BIASES of most universities are probably, by now, well-known to most readers of NATIONAL REVIEW. A number of books, notably William Buckley's *God and Man at Yale* and John Coyne's *The Kumquat Statement*, have dealt comprehensively with them. But as a member of the English faculty of a small state university, I have become aware of a relatively recent encroachment of the counterculture on the curriculum: the proliferation of politically oriented, self-consciously "hip," and decidedly left-leaning anthologies designed for use as "readers" in English composition courses.

Though English requirements differ from school to school, freshmen in most universities have long been required to take a one-year course which is variously titled, but is usually known unofficially as Freshman Composition. The course has never been very popular with students, and chances are most graduates have painful memories of trying to figure out what a predicate nominative is, or remembering a dozen or so different ways of developing a paragraph; of wading through an essay by Edmund Burke, or trying to contrive interesting lies about how they spent their summer vacations. But if these alumni were to revisit their old classrooms in many schools, they would find that times have changed. The students who enter these days are less likely to be burdened with an oppressively heavy grammar than with a brightly colored paperback anthology bearing a title such as *Crisis*, *The Subversive Voice*, *Encounter*, *Relevants*

(that's really the way they spell it), *Now*, or (ready?) *Grooving the Symbol*. Most of the anthologies focus on a predictable list of current social topics: racism, Vietnam, the draft, the generation gap, drugs and so on. In the choice of authors Burke and Arnold Bennett have given way to Eldridge Cleaver, Paul Goodman, Mario Savio, Bobby Seale and other figures loosely associated with the New Left. If verse is included in the volume, the Beatles are more likely than Tennyson to be the editor's choice. Whether the freshmen like the course any better than they ever did is doubtful, though they may be less likely to characterize the selections as "dull." But the value of a textbook, whatever its alleged purpose, cannot be considered apart from the nature and quality of the ideas put forth in it—and here is cause for alarm.

I suppose any consideration of this new development requires, in all fairness, a reminder of the rather turbulent history of Freshman Composition. There is simply no consensus about what the course should consist of, and I can sympathize with the composition chairman at Kent State who admitted he was an "agnostic" on the subject. Most English teachers agree that students should learn how to write better essays in their native language, but when it comes to considering what readings they should draw on for inspiration and example, nothing has caused more heated argument among English faculties. As a result, the content of the course has constantly changed to suit whatever faction assumes temporary control of the curriculum committee. For example, during the past ten years I have taught Freshman Composition under seven different syllabi—though in only two universities. Given such conditions of flux, it is inevitable that editors, publishers and textbook committees would respond to the pressure for a more "relevant" course. And to anyone familiar with the jargon of student activists and their patron saints on the faculties, it is no surprise that "relevant" is taken as roughly synonymous with "left-wing."

Rhetorical Dialogue

As to the stated purpose of the texts, I am surprised at how few editors even pretend concern with the analysis of rhetorical principles. Instead, they speak vaguely in terms of presenting "a meaningful dialogue" on ways in which "the student may confront the world of the 1970s," though the contents of the texts more often constitute a monologue. The most blatantly biased of the editors is Peter Collier of Berkeley, who has edited *Crisis: A Contemporary Reader* (Harcourt, Brace &

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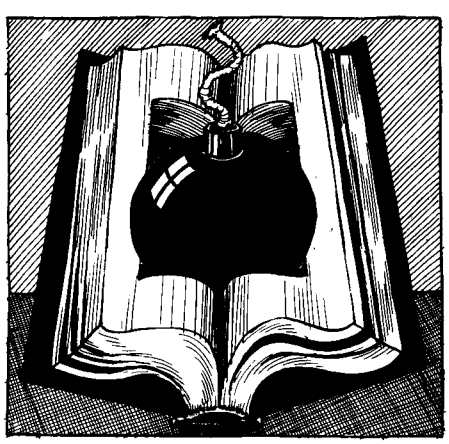
World, 1969). In the Preface Professor Collier frankly tells us he assumes "that students . . . are beginning to identify themselves as a minority within this society, threatened by . . . an 'establishment.'" He elaborates on the nature of the "crisis": "The threat of a racial holocaust, the emergence of a new social order, the choice between war and peace—these are the issues students face." One may think Professor Collier is taking on a tall order for a course in how to write essays, but he assures us that his text is not going to be propagandistic, "unless, of course, printing an essay on police brutality without giving a policeman equal time is to be overly selective." If you wonder what is so ludicrous about giving a policeman, or a literate defender of the police, equal time, he explains, "such apologetics are served up in large daily doses by the mass media, often without a real consideration of what is involved and . . . the student's background will have given him an ample basis for understanding the *opposition's* case [emphasis added]."

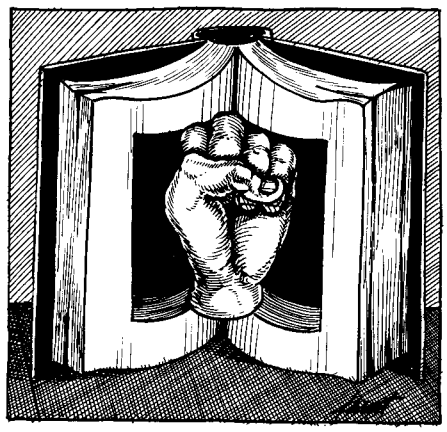
Anything of Value?

Thus, in a nutshell, you have the assumptions of this "unbiased" editor: that those who hold conservative or pro-Establishment views are the "opposition"; and that they need not be represented in the anthology because they are abundantly presented in the "mass media," which give us oversimplified analyses (the Vice President's contrary interpretation of the media's politics notwithstanding). Collier also clearly implies that the "opposition" view can only be presented through misrepresentation. If you fully consider the situation, your political views apparently cannot be other than those espoused by Professor Collier, and presumed for the majority of the students. So, in the pages of *Crisis*, "real consideration of what is involved" is given us by the likes of Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael, LeRoi Jones, Mario Savio, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Norman Mailer, Paul Goodman and the editors of *Ramparts*. Jack Newfield lauds the Beat Generation as "the first trickle of the angry flood that is now promising to wash away so many of America's false totems and cleanse so many of its rotted institutions." About the only refreshing change of pace in the book is Tom Wolfe's "Pornography and Violence"—but then this was selected before Wolfe trampled on the shibboleths of the Left in *Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers*.

Though Collier's Preface may be more candid than most, there is nothing unusual about the one-sidedness of his selections. The conservative view in one of these texts is as rare as tobacco smoke at a rock festival. In *Writing under Thirty* (ed. Sasha Gilien et al., Scott-Foresman, 1971), I read in vain through the eleven selections under the heading of "The Movement" (referring to the radical student revolt), to find so much as one that could be reasonably considered critical of student protest. In fact, the only essay in the entire book which finds much fault with the New Left is by Irving Howe, of all people. The book does include some writers of the past whose politics are of only academic concern now, and goes so far as to print an excerpt from *God and Man at Yale*, but very recent writings are pretty much to one side.

The most conspicuous feature of all the new anthologies is the degree to which they accept and cater to the mythology of the youth cult. The world is divided, according to age, into two camps, and the younger are the good guys, though they have allies among the older generation. Anthologies like *Writing under Thirty*, which include some writers of the past, are fairly sure to choose authors who would find approval among contemporary activist youth—Thoreau, for example. Texts which put less emphasis on politics per se nevertheless do their part for the Cultural Revolution by printing rock lyrics, or articles on current pop music (you won't find anything on Cole Porter, let alone Bach), or other topics dealing with the folkways of the young. Some of the readers are "multi-media," which is to say they include cartoons





(Feiffer is a favorite), advertisements and photographs reminiscent of the posters you find in head shops, depicting the wonders of love and the horrors of war, the beauty of the young-doing-their-thing and so on. These texts may be less conspicuous in their politics than some of the others, but they depict the younger generation precisely as it likes to think of itself (or is supposed to, according to its fashionable spokesmen). Students are probably amused at the bumbling efforts of editors to appear instructive about all this by following the beer ads and peace posters with inane questions and comments, but then, being amused is not the same as being taught. Indeed, some of these texts seem to operate on the assumption that there really isn't anything of value to teach that the young don't already know. I find myself wondering just what it is the instructor is supposed to be doing to justify drawing his salary.

Why the University?

One publishing company has even advanced a freaked-out anthology of New Left "underground" writing (*The Movement toward a New America*, ed. Mitchell Goodman, Knopf, Pilgrim Press, 1970), as a suitable reader for Freshman Composition. The book makes no pretense of being anything but a sort of catechism for revolutionists, and was obviously not intended for college classrooms, but the publishers know the economic value of a captive audience, if they can find English departments gullible enough to oblige them. "Ecology readers" are essentially in the same category. These consist of essays putting forth the militant anti-pollutionist position and would seem better suited for the social or natural

(*Continues on page 601*)

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BRAIN BANK

The PhD as Piglet

CHESTER E. FINN JR.

THE WIDELY ACKNOWLEDGED surplus of PhDs in the United States calls for action by the Federal Government. After all, it was the government that created the programs that made the surplus. Universities responded like farmers in wartime, planting acres of graduate research centers, doubling their student herds, tripling and then quadrupling their harvest of doctorates, eagerly fertilizing their instructional budgets with bribes from Washington—all while telling themselves they were acting in the national interest.

Fortunately government knows how to deal with surpluses as well as how to create them. With a Great Scholarly Depression upon us, with scientists unemployed, graduate students standing in line for Food Stamps, and sociologists about to start hurling themselves from the windows of Berkeley, the time has come for Washington to act, to formulate programs to handle the surplus just as it did in the Thirties. A government that knows what to do with extra piglets must now cope with superfluous PhDs.

There should be no difficulty here. The bureaucracy knows how to run soil banks, price support programs and commodity distributions. The Office of Management and Budget knows how much they cost, congressional committees know what to expect from them, and the civil service knows how to operate them. A wholesale transfer of experience and strategy would seem to be in order.

The most important component is the prevention of future surpluses through the creation of a Brain Bank. The Office of Education will set up a bureau that will pay colleges and universities *not* to award graduate degrees. For every PhD in astronomy that Northwestern refuses to give, the university will receive a premium. But complications may arise. Just as an unscrupulous farmer may take his reward for not selling milk and then proceed to market it as yoghurt, shady graduate deans may try to collect tuition and withhold the degree, gradually filling the nation with undiplomaed but otherwise qualified PhDs. So the Brain Bank administration will move to pay a larger premium to universities that refuse to *enroll* new graduate students.

The enterprising academic executive could raise vast sums by announcing his intention of hugely expanding the graduate school, then reluctantly letting the Brain Bank negotiators bid up the price-per-student-not-enrolled. An informal competition might ensue, wherein graduate deans vie with each other to see who can get the most per non-student out of the government. The wealthiest institutions would, of course, come out ahead; Harvard might get upwards of $10,000 for not

admitting a student, while a struggling state university would get one-tenth as much.

It is well established that any federal program designed to reduce surpluses must be matched by efforts to deal with the larger surfeit that inevitably results. So it will be prudent at the outset to augment the Brain Bank with a system of academic price supports. Employers would be subsidized if they agree to hire the products of *American* graduate schools. Large libraries and research laboratories could be built to store the surplus PhD holders. Some fields of study might be fertilized by plowing under small numbers of extraneous doctorates. Minimum wages for professors could be legislated. A national "test university" will develop new uses for PhDs. A Bureau of Educational Ecology will devise ways of recycling scholars lest the surplus lead to academic pollution.

Finally, the government will create new domestic and foreign aid programs so that the surplus can be consumed before it goes bad. Every country that is prepared to come up with matching funds can have its own knowledge distribution center where free lectures are given to the destitute and subsidized tutorials to the working poor. Large quantities of non-perishable academics will be sent to India, each in a cap and gown marked "A Gift from the People of the United States." Special air-conditioned ships will carry associate professors to West Africa, and a few dehydrated scholars might be flown to Ulan Bator to enrich the educational diet of the Mongolians.

AFTER thirty years or so, the surpluses will remain but the nation will have a far healthier attitude toward them. It will be accepted that the purpose of a university is *not* to teach and that the function of a PhD is to be stored, exported, subsidized or decomposed. The annual cost of the program will exceed $10 billion but it will be so well regarded that attempts to cut back will be met with outrage on the part of senators from Massachusetts and California, some of them ex-PhD candidates whose meager senatorial salaries are more than matched by the money they get for not teaching botany. Those few citizens who protest will be branded as ingrates who don't realize that the academic price support system is the pillar on which the Republic rests. And the warehouse of Bombay will steadily expand to handle the growing cache of experts on American literature and cattle production so generously donated to a land that speaks Hindi and eschews beef. □

Mr. Finn is an administrator at the University of Massachusetts. He served for a time on Patrick Moynihan's White House staff.

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RUSSELL KIRK

Moral Worth and Public Schools

WISDOM AND VIRTUE, Plato says, are the ends of education. Whether or not most public schools impart wisdom, some of those educational functionaries charged with the conduct of public instruction endeavor to ignore the inculcating of virtue. In a time when the order of the soul and the order of the community both have fallen into confusion, often the teaching of moral worth is honored in the breach, not the observance.

Take New York City. Last December, New York's school chancellor ruled that students otherwise eligible for graduation from high school must be granted diplomas, regardless of their character and conduct. Late in February, the commissioner of education for the state of New York decreed that no public-school pupil may be denied a diploma because of "lack of good citizenship." These decisions have caused a mighty uproar among school principals; and Assemblyman John A. Esposito has introduced into the legislature a bill that would restore the requirement of "citizenship and character development."

New York City's High School Principals Association and Vocational School Principals Association have published a "position paper" on this question. "American schools have always been charged with developing in our students the qualities of citizenship and character," the principals reason. "The schools of New York City have long held the development of character as the foremost aim in education. . . . To grant diplomas without an evaluation of the citizenship and character of the candidate for graduation gives the stamp of approval to the antisocial pupil."

Amen to that. In effect, the decision of the commissioner means that public-school administrators lose virtually their last control over violent and immoral conduct among pupils. "This is the latest in a series of rulings," the principals' position paper says, "which deny the secondary schools any right to put limits on improper antisocial and destructive behavior or to hold youngsters accountable for their actions. Surely this does a great injustice to the overwhelming majority of fine young people in our schools who strive to meet their obligations not only to themselves but also to their fellow students and schools."

Mr. David Gordon, Principal of Far Rockaway High School, called this ruinous decision forcefully to the attention of Assemblyman Esposito. Consider the present facts of life in New York City's schools, he asks:

> At the present time, there are enrolled in this high school: one student charged with murder; one involved in an exchange of shots with the police; and one waiting to learn whether the boy he shot will die (and in the meanwhile bragging that he shoots people he doesn't like).
>
> We have a girl who sorely needs therapy, and possibly custodial care, who has been in institution after institution, and who has been rejected by a home for girls from which she fled four times. . . . She told a counselor that she sometimes carries a knife under her coat, and would not hesitate to use it even to murder; and that she has previously attacked students and teachers.
>
> We have a sizable number of students who refuse to acknowledge authority, and who persist in leaving their classrooms and wandering the halls. We seem to be forever corralling them and conferring with their parents, who in most cases are looking to us for help.

The courts are extremely lenient with juvenile offenders, Mr. Gordon continues, and many students are terrorized by school gangs and desperados. Meanwhile, school principals are deprived of the last scraps of authority. "Principals are served with a stipulation entered into by the Board of Education and the New York Civil Liberties Union which forbids us from screening in advance literature to be distributed by anyone, and forbids our asking in advance what a student will choose to say at student assemblies . . ."

Those concerned for the rudiments of order in schools will obtain no help from Dr. Harvey Scribner, School Chancellor, or from Dr. Ewald Nyquist, Commissioner of Education. "Dr. Scribner's ruling was not important in terms of the number of students affected," Mr. Gordon remarks. "His ruling was extremely important, however, in terms of outlook and climate of support; it conveyed to the many well-behaved and law-abiding students the absence of disapproval by adults of those students who are visibly making a shambles of our schools."

California's State Board of Public Instruction has found it necessary to take up questions of moral worth; three years ago, "Guidelines for Moral Instruction" were adopted by the Board, and a committee was appointed to implement those guidelines. But that committee's endeavors are worthy of Dickens' Circumlocution Office.

FOR the majority of the committee, I am told, have been beguiled into accepting a system of "valuing courses" for teachers, rather than a program that would impart normative ethical understanding. This "valuing education" is an extreme form of ethical relativism. This "value theory," says Mrs. Laurel Martin, a member of the guidelines committee, "has almost no idea of what values it tends to promote. By their definition, a value is any action that results from the use of the value processes of freely choosing from among alternatives, deliberating on the consequences, and publicly proclaiming and acting out the choice. . . ."

A representative book of this "valuing education" school, *Values and Teaching*, Mrs. Martin continues, sufficiently illustrates the ethical notions of the doctrinaire behaviorist. Take this passage: "It should be increasingly clear that the adult does not force his own pet values upon children. What he does is to create conditions that aid children in finding their values *if* they choose to do so. . . . it is entirely possible that children will choose not to develop values."

There's freedom for you! The next logical step is to encourage children to develop their own private multiplication tables—or to reject multiplication altogether. □

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BOOKS

Gather Not My Life with Bloody Men

The Rosa Luxemburg Contraceptives Cooperative: A Primer on Communist Civilization
By Leopold Tyrmand
Macmillan, 287 pp., $5.95

GERHART NIEMEYER

The title at once tells the reader what is in store for him: a racy, sprightly, witty book, an "intentional hyperbole" about life in a Marxist society. Leopold Tyrmand, escaped from his native Poland and now living in the United States, knows that reality *from within*. This is crucial, for, as he says, life under Communism has an upside-down quality for the comprehension of which visitors and Western analysts simply have no system of reference. To grasp what it is like, one must pass through the Looking Glass: norms, practices, institutions on the other side are the reverse of normal, and of all things human only two remain the same: drunkenness and love.

No "objective analysis" avails: "Can one objectively explain a legal system in which the prosecutor is *always* right? Can one objectively discuss a psychology the cornerstone of which is class consciousness? Can one objectively describe the institutions of a political police whose raison d'être is to create culprits where none exist? Can one objectively investigate an economy where the shortage of bread is explained by the fact that every year more people eat bread?" So the reader must be brought into the living room—what am I saying?—into the prison cell of the shriveled, bewildered, disoriented, intimidated self that manages to hold on to life under Communism; he must be shown how Communism is felt by those who bear its burden.

Tyrmand achieves this through a certain anthropomorphization of Communism, on the one hand, as "some horrible and unbearable creature who actually lives nearby," and, on the other hand, with an abundance of everyday anecdotes. The book is full of them. Thirty-five short chapters pass in review. Everyman's typical situation: How To Survive a Maternity Hospital and a State-Controlled Nursery; How To Go to School; How To Take Advantage of the Invention of the Telephone; Why Toothpaste Does Not Clean; How To Read Signs in Public Places; How To Be Cheated by the State; The Police, or Conscience; The Upper Class and Its Dolce Vita; and so on. Tyrmand has a prodigious skill for hitting exactly on target with a pithy bon mot or a well-turned aperçu, all of which cry out for quotation. I must exercise iron will power not to tell, one after another, the numerous hilarious yet tragi-comic incidents (for example—here goes!—the mother who picks up her baby in the evening at the day care center, takes a look and exclaims: "Comrade Nurse, this is *not* my daughter!"; the nurse replies: "What's the difference! You'd bring her back tomorrow morning anyhow, wouldn't you?").

The book *is* very entertaining, but the author writes with a deeply serious purpose. A Polish Jew, he knows that Communism is the worst plague that ever befell mankind, worse even than Nazism which, after all, "used *only* mass murder." Communist power-lust transcends mere killing; it "dissolves the human will . . . deprives people of everything—their identity, even their shadow, their past and their future. . . . By fertilizing the soil of life with the thoughts of Lenin and Stalin, a thicket grew up around man in which he could not even trust himself, or shapes, colors, odors and the air. . . . Communism creates the impression that a man can come to terms with it, and afterwards destroys the man who believed and is now defenseless."

THE ULTIMATE value of this penetrating book is to demonstrate *ad oculos* (one can really see it!) the true character of the evil of Communism. That evil is neither mere dictatorship, nor violence espoused in high places, nor the low standard of living. The latter, Tyrmand is convinced, will eventually give way to a modicum of prosperity. "But what of it? Prosperity will not liquidate the

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metaphysics of injustice in Communism." The core evil rather is Communism's denial of the very idea of truth. "Communism will never abandon its bitter and cruel violation, rape and assault on thought." It is "through the lie that Communism becomes omnipresent, and transforms itself into a property of being, a partner of existence, a pantheistic element which is even concerned with cutting nails."

The axiomatic rejection of truth that is endemic, because of Communism's ideological liquidation of reality, amounts to hostile fear of that through which ultimately every person is a person. The Communists are quite aware of the extent and strength of the opposition against them, but "work out elaborate countermeasures [based on] scrupulously conceived distortion . . . the presentation of unconscious surrender as conscious choice, disorientation as the coherent synthesis of facts and convictions, the lack of knowledge as knowledge itself." This for the scrapbook of those who persuade their consciences that turning over human beings to Communist deformation is moral since it serves the supposed good of peace. Peace that embraces the demons ceases to be a good.

LIFE under Communism is hell, says Tyrmand, "but not for everyone." There is the Soviet "upper class," to be distinguished from the "ruling class," the Party cadres. In his native country they refer to that upper class as the "profitariat," the "owners of People's Poland," well-educated, witty and interesting people, to whom "certain areas of culture have been leased out." Then there are the "professional non-Party members" and "professional oppositionists," among whom he mentions prominently Ehrenburg and Yevtushenko. Then, a cast of "ruthless and cruel Communist *arrivistes* dressed in Italian shoes, French shirts and English tweeds." Hanging on to them are fawning intellectuals, the "courtiers of Communism." Oh, and we must not forget the revisionists, people who believe that Communism has started from correct assumptions but has become corrupted, and so want another Communism, but Communism all the same. The ex-Stalinists, finally, "make up the most powerful Mafia in the world. . . . Their saintly community rests on the washing of guilt off each other" and lamenting their ill fortune. All of these people belong to the system, strengthen and serve it, and beguile innocent bystanders by their existence. They represent change, to be sure, over what the regimes used to look like in the Thirties. But changes in Communism "have little in common with the idea of change accepted by *our* logic and *our* theory of cognition." The forms of deception have become mutated; the demonic core abides. □

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In a Darkness
By James A. Wechsler, with Nancy F. Wechsler and Holly W. Karpf
Norton, 160 pp., $5.95

TRAGIC FAILURES

THOMAS S. SZASZ

This book is a story of failure: of young Michael Wechsler's to grow up; of James and Nancy Wechsler's to bring him up; and of psychiatry's to help him. It is a heart-rending, but also a stomach-turning, account.

Why should a father, a prominent journalist, write a book that begins with suspicions about his son's homosexuality and a recounting of his failures in college and sexual inadequacies with girls; continues with a typical tour of tortures at the hands of corrupt and stupid psychiatrists; and ends with his inevitable and clearly welcome suicide?

In his Author's Note, Wechsler offers this answer: "Most of all we hope that those of Michael's words contained herein—his prose and poetry alike—make this no less his book than a book about him." Here, before we even begin, we have one of the solutions to the "problem" (if one wants to call it that) that Wechsler will put before us: The father is speaking for the son. If Michael had the interest and ability to write a book, he would have written one himself; and if he had, he would not have been Michael, and would not have written this book.

One of the reasons Wechsler is "in a darkness" is that he believes that "mental illness" is an illness and that psychiatry is a bona fide medical specialty. I cannot here explain why I consider this belief not only mistaken but malevolent, and how it contributed to making Michael into the kind of "sick kid" he became. All I can do is to offer a few critical, and hopefully clarifying, remarks about it.

To grow up, one must learn to take himself seriously, to take life seriously, and to take others seriously. This is a simple thing to say but is, actually, a terrifyingly hard thing to achieve. It is especially difficult to achieve for a child whose parents do not take him seriously; that is, who do not expect proper behavior from him, do not discipline him, and, finally, do not respect him enough to tell him the truth. In short, whenever and for whatever reason, the adolescent fails to become a responsible and serious person, he will become some other sort of person; and that person—in Michael's case, a demanding, undisciplined and unhappy youngster—is then often called "mentally ill."

But is being demanding, undisciplined or unhappy a disease? Wechsler never raises such a simple question. He is committed to using the concept of mental illness, not to questioning it. The whole book is a chronicle of Michael's "mental disease" and its "treatment." Moreover, there are such revealing asides as this one: While confined by his parents to a state mental hospital, Michael declared—and his father quotes this with unconcealed pride—that President Johnson "was at least as 'crazy' as he and his fellow patients." Wechsler adds: "We were to be struck by how often, in years of hospitalization, Michael and others were to comment with asperity on the mental condition of those directing the war."

IT HAS often been said that people see what they want to see, and nothing else. If Wechsler wants to confuse disagreement with disease; if he wants to believe that Michael's frustration at Harvard and President Johnson's in Vietnam are essentially similar sorts of things and that *both* belong in the same category as cancer and heart disease; and, finally, if he wants to accept the conventional definition of psychiatrists as regular physicians and of mental hospitals as medical establishments—

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Hurry up!

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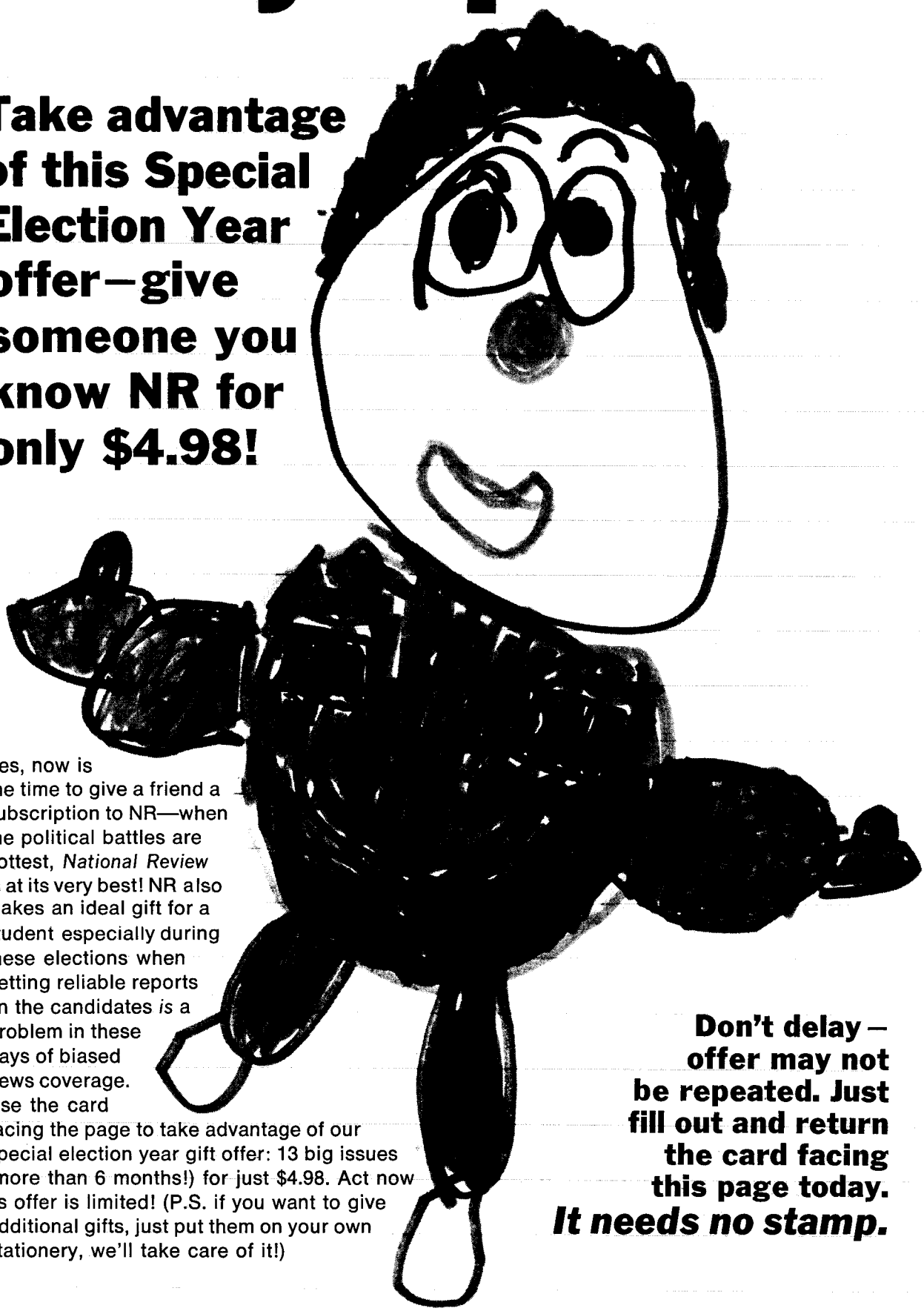

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RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT. James McGovern makes MacArthur the goat in *To the Yalu* (Morrow, $6.95). . . . Mark R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer scrutinize *The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections,* aver the GOP could clinch 1972 with a Negro on the ticket. (Simon & Schuster, $7.95). . . . *Historians at Work,* Vols. I & II, offers selections from Herodotus to Enlightenment writers (Harper, $15 each). . . . Mme. Simone de Beauvoir, 63, writes about aging in *The Coming of Age* (Putnam, $10). From the same house, *White Robe, Black Robe* by Charles L. Mee Jr. deals with the fateful clash between Pope Leo X and Luther ($7.95). . . . British MP Maurice Edelman researched a famous prime minister's love life, found him a swinger, depicts it in a novel, *Disraeli in Love* (Stein & Day, $7.95).

Xenophon's Socrates is a new study by Leo Strauss (Cornell, $8.50). . . . Edmund Wilson peers through *A Window on Russia* (Farrar, $7.95). . . . Irving Kristol ruminates *On the Democratic Idea in America* (Harper, $5). . . . *The Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson: Beginnings of Education, 1900-1941* just goes to prove the blessings of a leisurely childhood (Little, Brown, $12.50). From the same house, Stephen Birmingham pens a life of *John P. Marquand* ($7.95). . . . *Images and Memories* is a pictorial biography of Yeats by S. B. Bushrui and J. M. Munro (N.Y. Graphic, $15).

Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology is a biography by Robert Cecil (Dodd, Mead, $8.95). . . . Twenty million years ago (give or take a thousand millennia or two), female apes held their own against males, reports Elaine Morgan in *The Descent of Woman* (Stein & Day, $7.95). . . . Otto Friedrich's *Before the Deluge* is about Berlin in the Twenties (Harper, $10). From the same house, Martin Mayer, who has done incisive surveys of Wall Street, advertising, lawyers and education, now writes *About Television* ($10).

■ JUNE BOOKS. Robert H. McNeal's *Bride of the Revolution* is a life of Krupskaya (Michigan, $10). . . . *Economy Report*'s Donald I. Rogers cautions on *How Not To Buy a Common Stock* (Arlington House, $7.95). *The Future of the Corporation* features essays by Herman Kahn, Peter Drucker, Daniel Bell and such (Dodd, Mead, $6.95). . . . Teddy Kennedy's *In Critical Condition* is a puff for his big-spending health-care program (Simon & Schuster, $6.95). . . . Whereas Marvin Henry Edwards, editor of *Private Practice* Magazine, thinks government involvement in medicine is *Hazardous to Your Health* (Arlington House, $9.95). . . . That dull roar building up is *Diary of a Congresswoman* by Bella Abzug with Mel Ziegler (McCalls, $7.95).

even though he himself saw that the former behave more like corrupt quacks than like honest doctors, and the latter function more as prisons than as hospitals; well, then, if, as a kind of *credo quia absurdum,* he wants to believe all these things, he will believe them, write a book about them, and may even receive a prize from the American Psychiatric Association.

This, then, is a horrifying account of systematic and grievous untruths. Michael lied. His parents lied. The psychiatrists lied. Everything was tried to "help" Michael—psychoanalysis (so-called), insulin shock, electric shock, involuntary mental hospitalization, eight psychiatrists, five hospitals. Everything except taking him seriously and dealing with him truthfully. In a pitiful letter to one of Timothy Leary's lieutenants, Michael wrote: "I hope you'll consider me seriously." Evidently, many people "loved" Michael. But no one took him seriously.

Actually, none of the psychiatrists was Michael's agent—and only Michael's. One tried to be, but he was a fool: he clearly didn't know what he was doing, and became directly entangled in Michael's fight with his father. The others did not even try: they knew who paid them and acted accordingly; and Michael and his father knew it also, for Wechsler remarks, at one point, about Michael's belief that the psychiatrist "was our doctor, not his."

IN THE last analysis, why Wechsler chose to write this book is his business. The reviewer's is to read it, and judge it. My judgment is that the reader of this book is invited to witness a private ritual, a kind of psychiatric Yom Kippur: expiation through self-incrimination. Wechsler makes public what, according to the rules of traditional decency, should remain private. The result is a document that is, to say the least, in very poor taste indeed.

In a Darkness is perhaps also the final chapter in the story of Michael Wechsler's debasement. In a Postscript, his father writes: "Having disclaimed any intention to write what could be considered a biography of Michael, rather than essentially the history of his sickness and the quest for relief, we are sadly aware that the portrait of him is too often one-dimensional." Defining and describing Michael's struggle for self-esteem as a manifestation of his madness—the pitiful "symptoms" of his "mental illness"—is Wechsler's final putdown of Michael. As so many times before, the father has the last word. The son cannot talk back. □

Three Popes and the Cardinal
By Malachi Martin
Farrar, 300 pp., $7.95

CALAMITOUS CARDINAL

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

The Roman Catholic Church is perhaps the Western world's oldest and most important continuous institution. It has wielded immeasurable influence to the present day. Our personalities, our outlook and our moral views all were largely shaped by the Christian heritage which the Church cultivated and transmitted. Further, as an institution, the Church often had a decisive direct influence on the policies, foreign and domestic, of princes and of governments. With increasing secularization, ecclesiastical and even religious influence declined in the West. But the decline of the Church was slow and occasionally offset by gains. Further, the decline of Roman Catholicism was much slower than that of the other Christian denominations; in relative terms there actually was a gain. This was the legacy that Pius XII left to his successors. Up to his death, the authority of the Roman hierarchy was nearly unquestioned by clergy and faithful. Part of the strength of the Church was in its firm structure, strong organization and the image of certainty it was able to present, *per omnia secula.*

WHAT WAS true about influence was no less true of dogmatic consistency and identifiability. The more sophisticated Protestant beliefs, ministers and churches have dissolved into vaporous humanistic moral and political ideas and social "works" hard to distinguish

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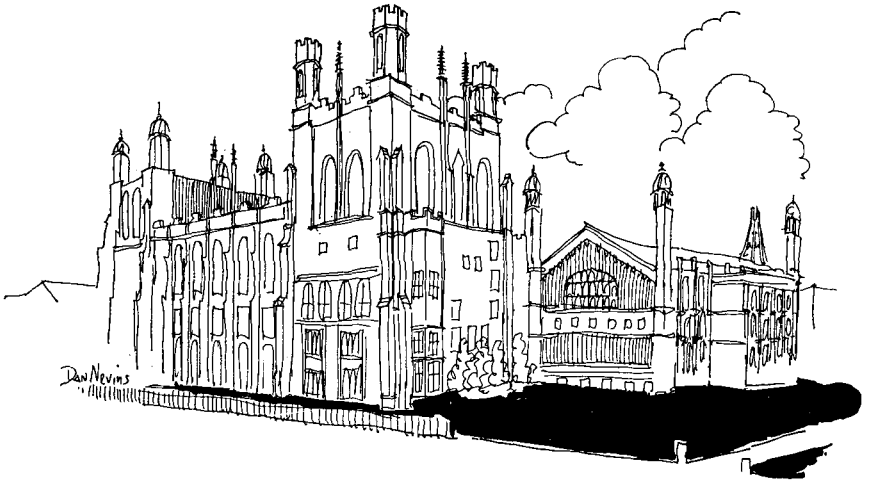
from non-religious liberal or leftist political creeds, and from each other. Starting as Augustinians, Protestants became far more worldly and Pelagian than the Jesuits ever were. (Protestant theologians of major merit such as Karl Barth became intellectual curiosities, with no influence on church practices; and martyrs such as Dietrich Bonhöffer were sacrificed for their own moral principles and not, I thank God, for denomination or religious dogma.) On the other hand, the Roman Catholic creed remained identifiable over the centuries, as did the liturgy, a fact not unrelated to the firm hierarchical structure of the universal Church and to its ability to resist local fashion or the silliness of chiliastic intellectuals. To this day many Roman Catholics tend to believe in a supernatural God and in divine grace and the Church. Even some Jesuits believe in the Holy Spirit—almost, though perhaps not quite, as much as in social work and sex education.

Despite proliferating departments of sociology of religion, we have no serious study to explain how the Church brought off the incredible feat of its continuous existence, identity and influence. But in Malachi Martin's book



we now have a brilliant study of how the work of nearly two millennia was ruined within a few decades. Oddly enough, Martin's book is also the only serious study I know of this immensely significant contemporary event—a serious commentary on the sense of history and relevance shared among our social scientists or, perhaps, on the congenital limitation of their outlook.

I could not disagree more with Mr. Martin's thesis, which I would have to oversimplify beyond reason were I to attempt to summarize it. Suffice it to say that what he regards as the (attempted) cure is in my opinion the disease. The physician, Cardinal Bea, spread it. The beginning of the end was brought about by the good peasant who was unwise enough to listen to the Cardinal and became a disastrous pope. The downward skid could not be stopped by his successor, who is not good enough. Paul believes that the world is not overpopulated and that the United Nations has authority. Wherefore he is losing his. Divine grace may save the Church. The actions of its hierarchy have brought it to the brink of disintegration. On this last point Mr. Martin would agree, although in my view his good guys are the actual malefactors, however unwitting.

Mr. Martin would place much of the blame on Pius XII whom I view as one of the great Popes (even if a bad administrator) precisely because he knew the extent and limits of papal and ecclesiastical power and acted to preserve them. According to Mr. Martin, Pope John meant well by calling the Vatican Councils. But they left chaos in their wake. So did Cardinal Bea mean well. Nonetheless he was Pope John's evil spirit as I see it (and Mr. Martin does not). Both, Mr. Martin thinks, did not foresee the disaster they brought about. I am sure they did not. But they could and therefore should have. Justice requires that one say no less; only saints are entitled to confuse it with charity —which leaves me out, and perhaps Mr. Martin, too.

Anyone who is interested in how the Church came to disintegrate—and I cannot think of a contemporary event of greater historical importance—will find in Mr. Martin's book important testimony. A former Jesuit, and intimate of Cardinal Bea, he took part in most of what went on until, though still a Catholic, he left the order to live in this country. He writes gracefully and dramatically and captures your interest and holds you enthralled. No more can be asked from an author, even if one does not share the views which he defends with so much eloquence and erudition. □

The New Economics of Richard Nixon
By Roger LeRoy Miller and Raburn M. Williams
Harper's Magazine Press, 88 pp., $5

TWO-PHASED ECONOMICS

ALAN REYNOLDS

Last August the President announced that we would henceforth have "free enterprise" with complete government supervision, and "free trade" with high tariffs. Washing his hands of any taint of responsibility for stagflation, Mr. Nixon proclaimed that the problem was private greed and the only solution was to place our fortunes in the hands of a beneficent public overseer.

Never mind the fact that government salaries had been rising much faster than private salaries, that real after-tax weekly earnings fell from an average of $92 in 1965 to $89 in 1970, that taxes had been rising much faster than prices, that seven government-regulated prices and ten price-supported foods were among the 25 fastest rising prices during the preceding year. Forget also the fact that the Federal Reserve had caused an almost unprecedented 10 per cent increase in the money supply in the previous six months, while its chairman kept saying controls were needed because such "tight" (sic) money wouldn't work. After all, both the press and the polls had opted for "doing something," and whither blows the hot wind of opinion so goes Richard Nixon.

For a while, dissenting opinion was drowned out by the deafening roar of economists jumping aboard the official bandwagon. Arthur Burns, who had

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Was Velikovsky *Right* After All?

When Dr. Immanuel Velikovsky startled the nation in 1950 with his bestseller, Worlds in Collision, he was greeted by a storm of intemperate rhetoric from prominent scientists around the world. A Michigan professor of astronomy wrote in a letter to Velikovsky's publisher: "Can we preserve democracy when education in true scientific principles . . . can be nullified by the promulgation of such lies—yes, lies, as are contained in wholesale lots in Worlds in Collision? . . . No, I have not read the book . . . And I do not intend to waste my time reading it."

Velikovsky's crime was to have proposed that sound evidence exists for the occurrence of near collisions between Earth, Venus, and Mars in historical times—collisions which destroyed civilizations and sculpted the Earth's surface. Such events figured prominently, Velikovsky claimed, in the escape of the ancient Israelites from Egypt.

By 1962 a few scientists, willing to brave the official scorn, spoke out for Velikovsky. Astronomer Lloyd Motz of Columbia University and physicist V. Bargmann of Princeton, writing in Science (Dec. 21), cited Velikovsky's successful prediction of two astonishing discoveries—the extremely high surface temperature of Venus (hotter than molten lead) and the emission of radio signals from Jupiter. "Although we disagree with Velikovsky's theories," the two scientists wrote, "we feel impelled to make this statement to establish Velikovsky's priority of prediction of these two points and to urge, in view of these prognostications, that his other conclusions be objectively re-examined."

But it has only been the past two or three years which have seen among scientists a more widespread acknowledgement of Velikovsky's vindication and a mushrooming interest in his work. Space age discoveries forced this reevaluation. For example—

- Last December 29 Dr. S.K. Runcorn, a leading authority on magnetism, told an A.A.A.S. gathering, "When we received the Apollo landing sample, as with the other groups who had been studying the magnetic properties, we were all surprised to find remanent magnetization."
- But Velikovsky had written in the N.Y. Times on July 21, 1969 (before the lunar landings): "The moon has a very weak magnetic field; yet its rocks and lavas could conceivably be rich in remanent magnetism resulting from strong currents when in the embrace of exogenous magnetic fields." The actual discovery of this magnetism has posed a perplexing riddle for scientists that, apart from Velikovsky's explanation, remains unsolved.

Velikovsky was once derided for claiming that Venus might rotate backward, that the moon, Mars, and Venus are losing heat, that moonquakes are frequent, that the moon's surface contains radioactive "hot spots," that the Minoan linear B script was an early form of Greek, that human settlements would be discovered in the now uninhabitable Siberian wastes . . But the record now favors Velikovsky on all these points, as on many others.

An international selection committee is being set up to date Egyptian New Kingdom objects; preliminary tests have already favored Velikovsky's revised chronology. A group of physicists are undertaking a computer analysis of ancient astronomical records to determine whether the solar system's order has changed during man's history.

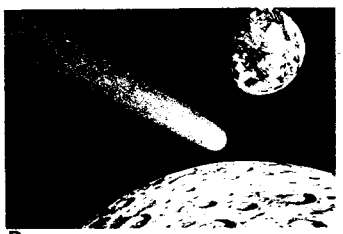
"I do not know of any specific prediction you made that has since been proven to be false."

So stated the late H.H. Hess, chairman of the Princeton University geology department, and chairman, Space Science Board, National Academy of Science. A full evaluation of Velikovsky's record is set forth in a special issue of *Pensee* magazine: IMMANUEL VELIKOVSKY RECONSIDERED. This will be the most discussed and hotly debated magazine this year. Contributors include Dr. Horace Kallen, co-founder and former dean of the graduate faculty, New School for Social Research; Dr. Lynn Trainor, professor of physics, University of Toronto; Dr. William Mullen, in the history and classics departments and the division of interdisciplinary general studies, University of California (Berkeley); as well as Velikovsky (who contributes three major articles), and numerous other scholars.

You will find the following features in IMMANUEL VELIKOVSKY RECONSIDERED:

- **a list of nearly 40 "impossible" scientific claims Velikovsky made in 1950, all of which were substantiated by later investigations.**
- **an interdisciplinary survey of the new avenues of research opened up by Velikovsky's work.**
- **a full-length analysis of Stonehenge and its meaning in the light of cosmic catastrophes during man's history.**
- **a debate: Are the moon's scars only 3,000 years old?**
- **Pharaoh Akhnaten and his revolutionary worship—Was Venus instrumental in the heresy?**

Pensee is published by the Student Academic Freedom Forum, a tax-exempt, educational foundation. Single copies cost $2,00; you may purchase 10 or more for $1.50 each.



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written a "Case against Wage Price Guidelines" in the 1960s, led the procession. Paul McCracken, then Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, experienced an overnight conversion from the vehement stand he had taken against controls only eighteen days earlier. There was always a broad undercurrent of dissent, however, and now it finds clear expression in one small, incisive volume.

Miller and Williams begin with a simple but accurate explanation of the way the Federal Reserve increases the money supply by buying government bonds and crediting the banks' reserves. The lagged effect of changing rates of increase in the money supply is then shown to be closely related to output and price trends of the past decade. Finally, in 1971, "the inflationary expectations generated by four years of rising prices and wages were sufficient to sustain continued high rates of inflation despite an unemployment rate of over 6 per cent."

In "A Little History of Controlled Prices," we find unquestionable factual evidence that controls have failed in Germany, Holland, France, Canada and Chile. A positive approach to speeding up the adjustment of inflationary expectations is then provided: All contracts (presumably including pensions and bonds) should be made automatically adjustable to a broad price index. Wages would then go up rapidly only if there were a prior inflation in prices.

Nixon's plagiarism of Kennedy's tax credit scheme could stimulate only *certain* industries at the expense of others. Either government spending must be reduced by the amount of the credits (hurting perhaps defense or aerospace industries), or higher taxes must be levied on consumers, thus reducing general consumer spending. Such selective measures as Nixon's tax credit, import surcharge and repeal of the automobile excise tax were, as Miller and Williams show, clear attempts to veto consumer sovereignty.

Probably the most widespread and dangerous error to be exposed by this book is the Fed's fallacy of equating "firm" monetary policy with high interest rates. Continual high rates of monetary growth create a fully anticipated price inflation. In this situation, lenders demand higher interest rates to compensate for the expected erosion of purchasing power in the dollars with which they'll be repaid. High interest rates, as prevailed in the late Sixties, are therefore often a symptom of "loose" rather than of "tight" monetary policy.

The final chapters provide an excellent primer on Keynesian economics, and an argument for flexible exchange rates between international currencies. Professors Miller and Williams have provided a devastating, definitive answer to the fraudulent pretensions of Nixonomics in this very big little book. □

My Life
By Oswald Mosley
Arlington, 505 pp., $12.95

NOT-SO-BLACK SHIRT

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

John Braine referred recently, on a television talk show, to "the fascists in North Vietnam."

"What do you mean?" bristled his opponent. "There are no fascists in North Vietnam."

"Of course not," replied Mr. Braine. "But I'm just using the word in the same way you do—to mean anyone I dislike."

"Fascism" remains a powerfully emotive word, the Left's favorite all-purpose insult. The name of Sir Oswald Mosley is emotive too, at least for anyone in Britain of middle-age or above. As a villain he seems a little faded now, more comic than terrifying: but political legend recalls him as Britain's only home-grown fascist leader of significant stature. Respectable politicians still refuse to appear in debates with him.

Being naturally contra-suggestible, particularly where left-wing clichés are concerned, I am quite prepared to believe that neither fascism (in Mosley's sense) nor Oswald Mosley himself was as black as it is painted, or as black as their black shirts suggested. I know that Mosley still has great magnetism and charm; I have seen him dominate a crowd of noisy left-wingers.

His autobiography is a book full of interest, and his ideas certainly should not be dismissed merely by sticking a virtually meaningless political label on them. But in the last resort, they just won't do.

That Mosley has a strong intelligence and a good deal of practical wisdom cannot be denied even by his enemies. These qualities are immediately evident as he tells, and reflects on, his life story. He begins by dismissing, pre-emptively, any suggestion that his family background, or his childhood, or his parents' separation, was responsible for making him what he became. A much more important, indeed conclusive, influence was the First World War, in which he served gallantly both in the air and as an infantry officer.

His experiences gave him a high regard for the ordinary British soldier, who had suffered so much; for the courage and discipline of the Germans; and for the value of leadership. They convinced him that avoiding another European war should be a principal object of political policy. And he was much affected by that dangerous fallacy, so assiduously propagated during both World Wars, that the outcome of the conflict would be—or ought to be—"a better world."

He entered the House of Commons as a dubious sort of Tory, proclaiming what he called "socialistic imperialism," and then switched to the Labor Party, mainly because he believed in positive, though limited, state control of the nation's resources. Finally, disillusioned with both parties, he tried to launch a new national movement, which became the British Union of Fascists.

The violence which took place at some of the big fascist rallies constitutes an important part of the legend. It is supposed to prove that fascists are brutal. In fact, of course, it was an early instance of the all-too-familiar Communist technique—attack your opponents and then claim that they were

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responsible for the violence, merely by existing. There is really not much doubt about what happened. Philip Toynbee, for example, an inveterately trendy leftist, has written an account of his own part, which begins: "Sir Oswald Mosley held a monster meeting at Olympia. In the afternoon we bought knuckle-dusters at a Drury Lane ironmonger, and I well remember the exaltation of trying them on . . ." If Mosley's stewards were somewhat less than gentle in throwing out Mr. Toynbee and his friends, they can hardly be blamed.

Mosley was never antisemitic or unpatriotic: but he was certainly opposed to the war against Hitler—and still believes he was right. If the war could have been averted, not only would the lives of millions of Europeans, Americans and Japanese have been saved, but, in his opinion, the massacre of the Jews would not have occurred. The subsequent division of Europe and the liquidation of the British empire would have also been avoided.

To INTERN Mosley during the war was an unnecessary, though perhaps inevitable, act of political malice. Latterly he has devoted himself to the cause of a united Europe, but is still the victim, he believes (and not without reason), of prejudice by the authorities and by the media. He dreams of some great new economic or social crisis, in which the nation will have to discard the "frivolity" of modern politics and come together at last; and then he may be summoned, as de Gaulle was summoned, to lead.

Oswald Mosley isn't, and probably never was, the least bit dangerous or vicious. On the contrary, he is excessively high-minded. He has many shrewd and sensible things to say: but the core of his thinking is unsound. His philosophy seems to be a mixture of Keynes, Hegel and Spengler; a nasty trio. He believes, he says, in "collective Caesarism," allied to modern science; an appalling prospect. And he thinks that his new order of society would ultimately "wither away" (an ominously reminiscent phrase), giving place to "higher forms."

Utopian ideas of this kind are apt to make a man too serious, too zealous. "Politics," says Mosley, in a chapter dealing with his youth, "had become for me the overriding interest and required single-mindedness." He sternly rebukes those political leaders who dissipate their energies in mere escapism, in "idle talk," or drinking, or reading detective stories. Perhaps the most amiable anecdote he tells about himself describes how he was late for his own wedding, because he lingered too long over luncheon at the Ritz with his best man. But this was a rare lapse. He has no doubts about the suitability of his own well-trained character for the rigors of leadership.

This attitude toward politics is profoundly un-English, un-Tory and, to me, unattractive. Not that he ever claimed otherwise. His nationalism is European rather than English; his form of demagogy doesn't require him to be attractive in an intimate human sense (though charm, I repeat, he has); and he says categorically that one cannot be both fascist and reactionary. "A movement of the Right has nothing to do with fascism." Leftists and liberals everywhere, please note. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS, *by Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews (Gambit, 1,030 pp., $12.95 cloth; $4.95 paperback).* Step right up, ladies and gents; here they are, all—I said *all*—your senators and congressmen, state by state, district by district. Get your red-hot vote tabulations on crucial issues; here's your once-in-a-lifetime compilation of all the vital statistics on who lives where, what percentage of Italians and other mi-no-rity voters there are in each district, how much moolah each Rep gets for his district from your pocket and mine. Learn why Phil Crane's "militant conservatism has obviously weakened him" in his district; read all about "Birch organizer" John Rousselot's "fierce drive and energy." See every one of John Tunney's teeth in living black and white. Get the inside Scoop on Jackson's candidacy, the idea behind which "is to prevent any antiwar candidate from becoming President; in short, to deny the public a chance to vote for a clearly defined antiwar candidate." Comprehend why Louise Day Hicks' "political career is based solely on opposition to race-mixing." Be the first on your block to know why Ohio's Louis Stokes can't lose; hint: "Few politicians want to be known these days for having deprived the black community of black representation." You there, sir, can you really resist this bargain? Madam, could you face yourself again if you failed to

(Continues on page 601)

Cornell University Press

The Heirs of Stalin

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By ABRAHAM ROTHBERG. The course of the politics of culture in the Soviet Union is traced in this deeply moving account of the tortuous relationship between the Kremlin's rulers and the intelligentsia. "Rothberg's study of post-Stalin artistic, political, and scientific dissent and its consequences and meanings is consistently interesting as well as revealing and to the point."
—*Publishers Weekly* $14.50

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

The Major Novels

By ABRAHAM ROTHBERG. "One emerges from a reading of this book with added appreciation of the humane thought of Solzhenitsyn and the motives underlying his fiction."—*Boston Globe.* "Both those unfamiliar with Solzhenitsyn's remarkable novels and those acquainted with them should find this articulate, perceptive study absorbing."—*Library Journal* $7.50

Cuba 1933

Prologue to Revolution

By LUIS E. AGUILAR. Focusing on a crucial episode in Cuban history—the Revolution of 1933—Professor Aguilar analyzes the Revolution in terms of its accomplishments, frustrations, and effects on the entire Cuban national structure, and shows that the ideas, attitudes, and programs that seemed to originate with Fidel Castro's revolution actually began in 1933. "Highly recommended."
—*Library Journal* $9.50

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Arts & Manners

PLACES

KARL R. ZIMMERMANN

Time Out

The Isle of Man is a sort of Brigadoon. Awash in the blue of the Irish Sea, its 221 square miles lie roughly equidistant from Scotland, Northern Ireland and England. Manxmen give up the old ways only grudgingly. They are an independent lot, as evidenced by their tenacity to Manx Gaelic as a second official language. Only a handful of inhabitants still speak the tongue, but the laws passed by the Tynwald (the world's oldest parliament) are declaimed annually, on July 5, in a bilingual ceremony on Tynwald Hill.

The Manx reluctance to be stampeded into change is apparent in many areas of daily life, including transportation. The Isle of Man Steam Packet Company, for instance, has been operating passenger steamships under its flag since 1830. Today a fleet of eight ships connects a variety of ports with Douglas, the capital. Each looks like a miniature Cunarder, not only because of her fine, traditional lines, but also because of the near-identity of the companies' funnel markings—black-banded red in both cases. When questioned on the coincidence, Packet Company officials merely point out that their claim to the colors is older.

It was on the *Manxman*, one of the line's handsomest ships, that my wife and I recently made the four-hour voyage from Liverpool to Douglas. The *Manxman*, plowing through the Irish Sea, was our time machine. When the cliffs of Douglas Head rose from the mist, a transportation buff like me was bound to be gripped by an intense feeling of expectation. Soon we disembarked at Victoria Pier and stepped aboard a horse-drawn streetcar for a ride down the two-mile-long Loch Promenade. We made ourselves comfortable on one of the cross-benches of the open-air "toast-rack" tram. There is no center aisle on these cars; thus the conductor is forced outside to the running boards. Swinging acrobatically along the side of the car, he came forward to issue us tickets—at 12 cents, a bargain to rank with the Staten Island Ferry.

As the car rumbled along the graceful curve of the Promenade, we saw to our left an almost unbroken line of modest Victorian-style hotels, all freshly painted in a variety of pastel shades. Across the way was the ocean. The horse steadily clip-clopped his way toward the Empress, our hotel, apparently not bothered by the cars and buses whizzing by on both sides.

When booking a room in the Isle of Man, be sure to ask for a sea view, well worth the small extra charge. We failed to do so; when we drew the drapes of our room we found that we overlooked not the ocean, but a sea of motorcycles. This shouldn't have surprised us, since during the June T. T. Races the island becomes a motorcyclists' mecca of international importance.

The Isle of Man has its own system of laws, which differ in some cases from those of Great Britain. Years ago, when motorcycle racing was in its infancy, the Manx chose to waive speed limits, a concession the British were unwilling to make. This easy attitude, coupled with the challengingly mountainous terrain, established cycling as an integral, if rather paradoxical, aspect of Manx life.

The Isle of Man is not a place of castles, cathedrals or historic edifices of any kind. Therefore the traveler need not feel obligated to "do" this or that landmark. Rather, he may amble idly through the fresh, fertile land or, best of all, enjoy the leisurely public transportation systems the island affords.

If you've never ridden an electric interurban, you've missed one of the joys of travel. This form of transit has all but vanished from the face of America, where it once flourished. Though interurbans were never common in Britain, a classic example remains on the Isle of Man, doing business much as it did seventy years ago. You don't have to be a rail buff to love it; in fact, there is no better way to see the landscape than from the cars of the Manx Electric Railway.

They leave frequently from Derby Castle, at the south end of the Loch Promenade. We arrived there on the second morning of our stay to find an immaculate saloon car, brightly liveried in cream, red and highly varnished wood. Coupled behind it was an open-air cross-bench trailer, as crisply maintained as the motor car ahead.

As the weather was balmy, we chose to ride in the trailer and enjoy the sunshine and sea air during our seventeen-mile trip to Ramsey, the island's second city. With the ting-ting of the motorman's bell, one of the most distinctive of sounds, the cars ground into motion. Almost immediately the carbarns appeared on the left. Here we saw some of the roughly fifty cars now in operation, most of which date from the 1890s. Due to the care of generations of employees, they all look like new.

Soon we were enveloped in the Manx countryside—lush, soft, rolling and green. For most of the distance to Ramsey, the three-foot-gauge tracks flirt with the ocean, providing a series of spectacular views. Groudle is the first-reached of the many glens served by the railway; Garwick, Dhoon, Mona and Ballaglass are others, all mossy-mysterious and fragrant. These deeply wooded vales are meant for contemplative strolling, a recreation unfamiliar to most Americans, but one of the foremost charms of the island.

Laxey, the line's approximate midpoint, is the junction with the Snaefell Mountain Railway, a most unusual line that, employing grades of more than 8 per cent, climbs right to the top of

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the 2,034-foot mountain. We rode one of the ancient cars as it labored to the summit. From here, England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales are all reportedly visible. We peered into the distant mist, in vain.

From Laxey to Ramsey the terrain is rocky cliffs that fall straight down to the sea. Its starkness is relieved by rolling hills, with flocks of grazing sheep showing white against the green. The trams periodically screeched to a halt in a little hamlet, then clanged ahead again, rattling and rolling gently. Finally we pulled into quiet Ramsey, where we strolled through drowsy streets down to the quay before reboarding the cars to return to Douglas.

We had one more journey to make, which we undertook the next morning. The Isle of Man Railway until 1965 comprised a system providing all the island's major cities with both freight and passenger service. Since then, a complex series of closings, reopenings and partial reclosings has occurred. At present, only the branch to Port Erin is operating, and that only during the summer to carry excursionists. Rumors abound each year that service will be re-extended to the entire system, but this seems unlikely right now.

We were thankful, though, for what we had, which included six operable steam locomotives, as much anomalies as the tailless Manx cat. Some of these diminutive Island Green beauties date from as early as 1874, when the railroad began operations. Huge, highly polished brass domes give the engines an especially distinctive appearance.

Five times a day at the height of the summer, these locomotives, trailing ancient coaching stock, depart from Douglas Terminus, a huge brick structure with gothic towers and gables. We settled back in plush seats and listened to the exhaust as the locomotive barked upgrade into Port Soderick and then, having a good roll on its train, eased effortlessly along from there to Port Erin.

The "peanut-vendor" whistle shrilled and the wheels banged over opposing, not staggered, rail joints (no clickety-clack here, but a ka-*bang*, ka-*bang*) —sounds unmistakably British or European, not American. The sense of place was very strong, but of time deceptive, for this could have been 1890 as easily as 1970.

We left the island as we had arrived, with the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company. Gulls wheeled and screamed; a substantial breeze raised a chop on the harbor water. Slowly we eased out, past the docked ships. The soft mist toned the brilliant morning sun as it whitewashed the hillside city and lighthouse-crowned Douglas Head.

This vision, reminiscent of an impressionist's canvas, began to fade and diminish as we surged ahead toward Liverpool. Finally mist and distance obliterated it entirely. We glimpsed the *Lady of Mann*, the oldest and most graceful ship in the fleet, steaming toward Douglas. She seemed a messenger from the outside world reminding us of our re-entry into the responsibilities of time. □

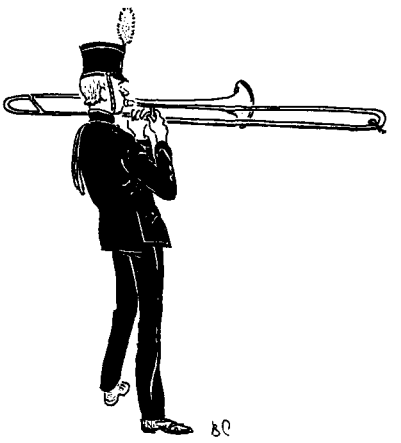
MUSIC

BRAD EVANS

Culture in Indiana

Bloomington—Let us approach Indiana University's new Musical Arts Center from the perspective of taste. This approach has its disadvantages—the most remarkable being that, in doing so, we must omit discussion of the single most outstanding feature of the Center: namely, that it cost $11 million. Table the consideration of cost and it becomes wholly in order to inquire whether or not the physical education department mightn't have put this presumptuous edifice to better use.

Surely, a well-rehearsed troupe of traveling isotonic basket-weavers would have done more justice to the Dedication Week festivities than did John Eaton and his simpering operatic rendition of Sophocles. *Heracles* may charitably be described as a gruesome catastrophe of the first magnitude. Eaton himself prefers to think of it as his "last major attempt to work in the grand tradition"—and one ceases wondering, after hearing *Heracles*, why he so quickly moved into the shady cacophonies of electronic music.



Eaton had not even the decency which compels creators to imbue miscarriages with brevity. Thus an invited host of notables stifled yawns as a steady emanation of unrelieved *ennui* slopped fatiguedly over the pit and rattled off the proscenium. His contention that he had ended eight hundred years of compositional techniques and solved questions which he believes parallel those the country has faced in recent years is a little like maintaining that the Terror summed up 1,800 years of Western civilization.

THE ONLY group more abused than the audience was the singers. As the orchestra rooted around in snorts of noisy emptiness the singers were forced for prolonged periods into the tippy-tops of their ranges. Thank God Mr. Eaton now makes his rash demands on machines, else several promising young voices would have ended hawking libretti.

Eaton's professed debt to late Verdi is an insult to the latter; his claim to standing among minor musicians a rather labored joke.

Alexander Calder, a laboring joke, the proclaimed doyen of living American artists, has provided the Center with a sculpture, "Peau Rouge Indiana" (rather un-Indiana-sounding French for "Indiana Redskin"), an orange monstrosity in the advanced junkyard style that the University claims is a "treasure" that's "inseparable from the building it introduces."

This is true. The orange and purple abstract chromosome carpet of the lobby provides a perfect complement to the grotesque commission out on the lawn. The inept lighting tends to create a seedy mood in the gloom of the reception area, which is relieved by a perfectly atrocious and laughable piece of busy quilting that hangs from the ceiling in almost audible irony.

The auditorium itself is a gentle flaming orange-and-pink-with-purple-and-white-accoutrements and ornamental lighting arranged as so many floating gold turds at the heights of the expanse. Of course it was impossible to

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tell what the acoustics (if any) are like because Eaton could convert the Teatro San Carlo into an auditory miasma.

At some point—and this appears to be it—I must strenuously object to the complete absence of alcoholic beverages between acts. It is simply outrageous that only coffee and some vague soft drink be offered the patrons of so illustrious a hall. I regard this as a personal affront—to myself and to the central tenets of Western civilization.

All in all, though, it is a worthwhile, interesting, stimulating, needed and welcome facility—just as the experience of hearing John Eaton's opera was all those things. And if you believe that, the appreciation of irony in this land has descended to a new low. □

FILM

DAVID BRUDNOY

Farewell, Dear City

No gleam of light relieves the gloom of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, written in 416 B.C. when Athens was involved in yet another round of wars. Euripides may well not have believed in the all-pervasive influence of divinities though, as was customary, he began his play with a brief discourse between two gods, Poseidon and Athene. His drama clearly laid the blame for Troy's ruin in the laps of men—and women.

Edith Hamilton's beautiful translation provides the text for Michael Cacoyannis' new film of Euripides' classic. The gods are gone; Cacoyannis concentrates on the humans' culpability, their literally godforsaken despair. Opening in shadow, with the soldiers of Greece driving the women of Troy from their beloved city, the film freezes at several points to state the historical background concisely in a few paragraphs superimposed on grainy still photographs. Then at daybreak Hecuba, widowed queen of Troy's King Priam, rises slowly from the ground. "The ways of fate are the ways of the wind," she moans, slowly coming to her senses as the other widowed, childless women of Troy rally around her.

And from there *Trojan Women* unfolds its chilling tale of the aftermath of destruction wrought by man's greed, mankind's lust, woman's whim—to wit (in faithful obedience to Homer), by Paris' desire for Helen, by the inability or unwillingness of the Greeks and Trojans to arrange peace, and by Helen's utter selfishness. "This is no longer Troy. And we are not the lords of Troy," the aged, grieving queen laments. Just so.

The women are to be slaves of the Greeks. Hecuba's daughter Polyxena is to be killed to guard Achilles' tomb; her other daughter, Cassandra, is consigned to serve King Agamemnon as his wife. Hecuba is enslaved to Odysseus, "a lawless beast who twists and turns, this way and that, and back again, a double tongue, as false in hate as false in love."

Is any comfort to be found? Ranting, dancing in her madness, Cassandra tells her mother that the Trojans have that glory which is loveliest: "If war comes, to die well is to win the victor's crown." Hecuba's daughter-in-law Andromache, Hector's widow, enters with her young son Astyanax. Like Cassandra, Andromache moans that she is not dead: "That one thing left always while life lasts, hope, is not for me." But at least she has her son, until the Greek messenger comes to say that her boy must die lest he grow up to avenge Troy. In a scene of exquisite passion, Vanessa Redgrave as Andromache wails her horrifying sorrow and then tries to comfort Astyanax.

Hecuba, played by Katherine Hepburn more, alas, as Hepburn than as Priam's widow, has lost all her sons, her husband, one daughter to the sword, another to a monstrous Greek, and finally she is to lose her grandson. "False words you spoke to me when you would jump into my bed," she laments later over the boy's body—"call me sweet names and tell me, Grandmother, when you are dead, I'll cut off a great lock of hair and lead my soldiers all to ride out past your tomb. Not you, but I, old, homeless, childless, must lay you in your grave, so young, so miserably dead." The moment is incomparably poignant.

The third crucial scene depicts the confrontation between Helen and her avenging cuckolded husband Menelaus: Helen (Irene Papas, who acts with her eyes) pleading that the gods made her do it, Menelaus almost bending, almost succumbing to that face, that body, then Hecuba speaking Euripides' sentiments, blaming humans, not gods, blaming Helen's lust for Paris for the ruin of Troy. "My son was beautiful exceedingly. You saw him—your own desire was enough. No need of any goddess. . . . You saw him in his Eastern dress all bright with gold, and you were mad with love." Menelaus' heart hardens, and Helen is led away to the Greek ships. All are gone, all is lost. "Farewell, dear city," Hecuba concludes; "Farewell, my country, where once my children lived." As Troy burns the Trojan women are herded off to their fate.

Miss Redgrave, Miss Papas, and the Trojan women's chorus are very fine, but Genevieve Bujold's Cassandra left little impression, her mad scene embarrassingly contrived, and Hepburn does not sustain Hecuba's omnipresent role with enough force to justify Euripides' lines. Yet the film succeeds in making a strong case for the message, with the music, costuming, desolate landscape (Spain), editing and composition combining to frame the dramatist's words with enormous power. War's futility, and also—though this was clearly subordinate in Euripides' intention—the superiority of war and even death to life in slavery are expressed better than in most past cinema treatments.

One need not read the history of every battle, ancient and modern, in the light Euripides casts on war, nor need we swallow the obvious immediate analogy that some will try to feed us, to appreciate nonetheless the tremendous impact of *Trojan Women*, the world's greatest piece of antiwar literature. □

Karl R. Zimmermann *is a freelance writer and inveterate transportation buff. . . .* **Brad Evans** *is currently at work on a book on Romanticism in politics and aesthetics.*

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

(Continued from page 597)

have at your fingertips the hot poop on how "the conservatives are out to get [Pete McCloskey] now more than ever"? Could you look your bridge club square in the eye if you didn't have on your coffee table this absolutely unbiased, completely impartial handbook compiled by these three young Harvard *Crimson* alumni? Don't delay; buy it now. What am I offered for the *Almanac*? Do I hear a dollar? One green George Washington buck? Fifty cents? How 'bout a Washington quarter, or two FDR dimes and a Tom Jefferson nickel, for this gen-yoo-wine collector's item. D. J. C. BRUDNOY

LOUIS: *The Louis Armstrong Story 1900-1971, by Max Jones and John Chilton (Little, Brown, 256 pp., $9.50).* A revisionist biography by two British critics whose discernment and scholarship put their American fellows to shame. The first contributors to the Armstrong critical canon built in a bias in favor of his classic, pre-1930 period that is only now being redressed. By 1930 Louis had taken the folk roots of jazz, stamped them with his creative genius, and fashioned a more sophisticated music that would never again be without his accent: the most avant-garde jazz of all time, as Victor Schonfield observed. But Louis couldn't stop there, and the authors seem to acknowledge the early 1930s as the golden age—the same period former critics had scorned as commercial. This book even does an overdue salvage job on Louis' 1935-1945 big-band days; though a similar effort for the Ambassador Satch period comes more from the heart than the ears. The book is brightened with nearly two hundred photos, most of them fresh, and with pages and pages of Louis' puckish letters. The Bach of jazz now has the book he deserves.

N. MCCAFFREY

STALIN, *The History of a Dictator, by H. Montgomery Hyde (Farrar, 679 pp., $12.95).* This Stalin does not really add much to the literature, except to shed a tiny bit more light on Stalin's personal life, particularly in relation to his second wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva, who committed suicide in 1932. The long-rumored connection of Stalin with the czarist Okhrana before 1912 is carried no further than Isaac Don Levine carried it in his *Stalin's Great Secret* published in 1956; it still seems likely from the whole pattern of Stalin's arrests and releases that the allegations have truth, but Levine has since concluded that the actual Okhrana letter, which he published in good faith, was a forgery, even though its contents may have been accurate. Mr. Hyde is a diligent and competent journalist but not a historian; the political dimension of Stalin's story is extrinsic trimming in his account.

E. B. MEYER

MASON

(Continued from page 576)

tion. If the U.S. Establishment is sinful, who can have pride in the U.S.? If our Army is composed of brainless murderers and savages, who'd want to fight for his country? If the U.S. is imperialist, racist, war-loving, etc., who can have either pride or faith in it?

10. Last in the train—ineptness. It is last because in spite of all the handcuffs on Nixon, and on the U.S. military, our military men are not in the least inferior to those of other countries. Neither the VC, nor the British, nor the Russians nor the Chinese, have any better generals than we have . . . just as they haven't any better pilots, or bush fighters, or anything else.

But you can't make bricks without straw, or fight even a delaying action without moral *and* physical support from your country.

Think it over. Democracy depends mainly on the presence of powerful mass communications to operate. It did fairly well until the mass communications became too strong. They're not going to get any weaker. □

TEEL

(Continued from page 587)

sciences, or for courses in ecology, if such exist. But Freshman English draws more students, so the ecology readers are advertised to English departments and are sometimes adopted, perhaps because most English teachers are crypto-Thoreauvians. As a result, freshmen get the goods on How To Save Our Environment under the supervision of instuctors whose primary training is in the explicating of Wallace Stevens, or finding the sources of *Idylls of the King*.

Even the editors of *Playboy* have done their duty by the Concerned Generation and put together a reader called *Voices of Concern* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971). The selections are reprints of past articles in the magazine and consequently reflect the apparent political biases of Mr. Hefner, which could be characterized as left of center on every issue except the right to pander to some of the gaudier appetites indulged by the populace in a free-enterprise system. A section on politics ("Else They Will Fail") treats us to the prescriptions of Norman Thomas, Carey McWilliams and Karl Hess (after his "conversion"); the section on →

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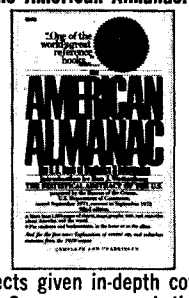

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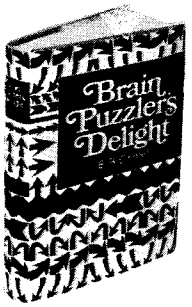

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youth ("The World Was Always Yours") presents only the cautionary voice of Eric Hoffer among the several selections praising youthful rebelliousness. In the section on dissent and the law ("Not the Liberty Which We Can Hope") the seven selections move from ACLU-liberalism leftward. For the most part, the only selections devoid of liberal-left leanings in the text are works of fiction.

Where editors have felt compelled to give some cognizance to conservatives, the usual token conservative, at least among contemporaries, is William Buckley. But the editorial treatment of him (in the guise of "Questions for Discussion" following the essays) is not always kindly. In going through *Subject and Structure*, edited by John M. Wasson of Washington State University (Little, Brown & Co., 1970), I compared the editor's questions about the logical soundness of various entries. In a question following an excerpt from Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*, Professor Wasson absolves the author from such scrutiny ("Because this passage is autobiographical, we cannot expect it to have the unity and close organization of, say, argument"). Walter Lippmann's "To Ourselves Be True" is accorded more neutral treatment ("Do you find any fallacies in Lippmann's reasoning?"). But when we get to a selection by Buckley, Professor Wasson spells it out for us: "Four common methods of defeating an opponent without disproving him logically are 1) name-calling (*ad hominem*), 2) appeal to prejudices (*ad populum*), 3) appeal to respected authority (*ad verecundiam*), and 4) appeal to pity and sympathy (*ad misericordiam*). *Which of these techniques* does Buckley employ? [emphasis added]." Clearly, the student is not invited to answer "none." That the professor finds a particular conservative essay more logically objectionable than a particular liberal or radical one is not, of course, sufficient evidence of a bias. But the assumptions in Professor Wasson's question require a closer look. Is "appeal to respected authority" to be taught without qualification as nothing but a logical fallacy? Does Professor Wasson really disbelieve in the necessity of "respected authority" at the foundations of all civilized society? If this is not the case, why doesn't he ask a further question as to whether such an appeal can be justified? Buckley's essay ("Decision Making for Christ") is somewhat ironic in tone and is therefore not obliged to follow the specifications of a scientific treatise (remember that Cleaver has been excused from logical scrutiny because of the nature of his piece); it also presupposes a sense of humor on the part of the reader. But Professor Wasson is not amused. When Buckley refers to the late Alfred C. Kinsey as "a humorless sexologist" who "discovered at age sixty something less than Fanny Hill knew at eighteen," Wasson counters with a question: "The reference . . . is to the famous 'Kinsey Report'; does Buckley's assessment . . . strike you as objective?" Wipe that smile off your face, freshman, and pass judgment on the statement as a literal interpretation of the "Report" (which you have probably never read). Of course, the alert student will have no problem seeing the answer contained in the question.

I don't know how widely the new anthologies are used in the universities, or to what uses they are put, but the large number of them in print would seem to indicate they have caught on somewhere. As to why they have been adopted, I can only speculate. I am sure that most English professors are not active radicals, so that a purge of professors, besides being objectionable on other grounds, would hardly solve the problem. But why are so many of those who have long revered academic freedom and the concurrent principle of presenting all sides of every issue unable to see the blatant slanting in such texts? Do any of my colleagues seriously believe that no writer has anything worthy to say in defense of policemen, or against student anarchy, or that nothing to the right of conventional liberalism is an acceptable position on civil rights? How many can seriously concur with Professor Collier's belief that conservative newspapers are guiltier of oversimplifying the facts than Black Panthers are? How many really believe that while Mario Savio has something worthwhile to say about revolutions, nothing of value on the subject can be found in the writings of Whittaker Chambers?

I think liberal inertia and doubt are more responsible than radical conviction and commitment in the tacit approval of the ideology of the new textbooks. The idea of the university is under attack from all sides these days, and those of us in the humanities feel more on the defensive than anyone else. And I am afraid we are poorly armed for the struggle. "Relevant" texts seen in this light come forth as

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efforts at appeasement of the barbarians at the gates. But I am afraid that in attempting to be relevant in the way prescribed in the current texts, we only give further ammunition to those who believe us irrelevant.

What if English departments and the publishers accommodating them made an honest effort to be genuinely relevant to the students in this and all generations? There are a few texts, to be sure, not guilty of the sins I have cited. For example, *Readings from Left to Right* (ed. Victor Amend and Leo T. Hendrick, The Free Press, 1970) is a text which, though in the new vogue, makes a genuine attempt at presenting all sides on each issue. As such, it is to be commended—after all, if we are to hear from the fashionable writers of the Left, let us also hear Buckley and Russell Kirk and John Chamberlain. But this is not enough. We need to challenge the narrow context in which relevance is spoken of, rather than allow it to narrow our own options, as it is doing, not only in the composition courses, but also in the required sophomore literature offerings. Students today are bombarded with the myth that they are a unique generation, a breed of mutants, operating in a historical vacuum, free to disregard without qualms all the cultural imperatives which bound their ancestors, if such imperatives fail to indulge them in "doing their own thing." I can't help feeling that such a path to nihilism and anarchy naturally follows the trends in certain of the social sciences, but we in the humanities, who are above all the custodians of the Western tradition, should be the ones to present an alternative. Rather than indulging students in the delusion that the only world they need concern themselves with was created circa 1960, we should be reasserting the most genuine relevance—by perpetuating the appreciation of those men, past and present, whose visions of Man and his place in the universe took them beyond the writing of polemic. If the wisdom of these giants cannot solve the problems peculiar to our time, we should nevertheless remind students that it will outlive them, even the Vietnam war.

This may sound like nothing more nor less than a defense of the traditional liberal arts education; but for the life of me I can't think of any other good reason for the continued existence of English departments, or, for that matter, of universities. □

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[Edward] Edelson:

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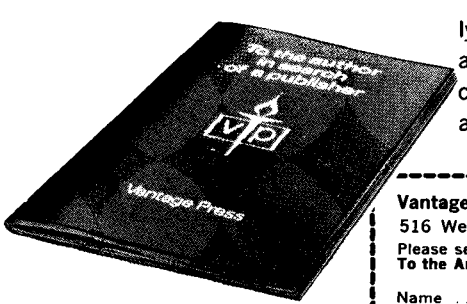

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On The Right

Mr. Nixon's Speech

New York, April 30—President Nixon's admirable speech [April 26] nevertheless leaves us with the difficulties that crawl through the text, haunting the reader.

He began, as usual, by describing the scale on which the United States has withdrawn its soldiers. Ninety-five per cent of the fighting men who were there when Mr. Nixon took office are now gone, and the remaining 5 per cent are not directly engaged in combat operations. Instead, the South Vietnamese are carrying the full military load on the ground. And it is a very considerable load. Their losses in dead and wounded last week were the highest of the entire war. At four thousand dead and wounded, you would need to visualize fifty thousand American casualties to get a comparable figure.

Now the idea of Vietnamization was that we would withdraw *pari passu* as the South Vietnamese built up their army. One American soldier out, one South Vietnamese soldier in. Or, in the more complicated equation, one fully trained efficient American soldier out, two half-trained South Vietnamese soldiers in. The American people were not in a position to test whether the withdrawals were keeping pace exactly with the reconstitution of the South Vietnamese army—we took it for granted, because we were told that was what was being done.

But suddenly with the great spring offensive of North Vietnam we discover that things are not that way at all. It may be, as the President has assured us, that we will win. But it is unquestionably the case that the enemy is getting away with the kind of thing it would never have ventured during the period the United States Army was there. I mean full-blown, tank-led, open invasion by a dozen military divisions. They are doing to South Vietnam what we hoped and prayed they would try to do during the long years we were there, fighting an infiltrators' war. Already we see that Vietnamization has not worked militarily—in that the enemy, no matter whether it ends by winning or losing, is able to march into South Vietnamese territory in a way it would not have ventured to do a year or two ago.

And then the President said: "Our air strikes have been essential in . . . assisting the South Vietnamese." "Essential." Then he said that "the enemy will fail." More precisely, he said that General Abrams said that the enemy will fail. Then he said "we can now see the day when no more Americans will be involved [in South Vietnam] at all."

He also told us that the word of the North Vietnamese is no good, utterly unreliable. He told us that in the past few weeks the enemy has violated two of the pledges it gave to President Johnson in 1968 in return for a termination of the bombing: namely, the enemy came down across the DMZ, and the enemy began shelling the civilian population. He also told us that back in October, our intelligence detected the build-up in North Vietnamese military strength "yet we deliberately refrained from responding militarily"—presumably because the President still thought that we could reach peace at the negotiating table.

For the rest, Mr. Nixon recapitulated what he takes as axiomatic, namely that there will be wars all over the world if we permit a successful aggression, that the North Vietnamese "cannot be allowed to win"; that "we will not be defeated and we will never surrender our friends to Communist aggression."

So. 1. Vietnamization is already and palpably a partial failure, see above. 2. Our air support having proved essential to the South Vietnamese at this juncture, it would presumably prove essential to the South Vietnamese at any future juncture—at the crisis of, say, 1974 or 1976. 3. There are no known plans to give the South Vietnamese an air force that would permit it to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, in the absence of which there is no way for us to neutralize Hanoi and Haiphong as major launching bases for fresh attacks in the future. Therefore, 4. we most precisely cannot "now see the day when no more Americans will be involved" while simultaneously pledging that we "will never surrender our friends to Communist aggression." It is one or the other: either perpetual American involvement; or the surrender of South Vietnam.

And everybody knows the political situation. Two years from now Congress would simply not permit us to do what we are doing now. The doves are on the march, and Richard Nixon knows it. That being the case we can confidently look forward to the return of all our men from the Indochinese area, and just about as confidently look forward to the North Vietnamese conquest of South Vietnam. And so much for our friends.

Unless . . . Mr. Nixon told a confederate in 1967, that only someone who has seen the daily reports of the National Security Council and the CIA, as he did for eight years as Vice President, could know what were the pressure points of the Soviet Union, and of Red China, on a day-by-day basis, and that the Vietnam war could only be won by playing on those pressure points. What are the indications that he has mastered that great console? □

CURB THE COURTS?

New York, May 6—The boys are becoming hysterical over the proposal that Congress should in any way intervene to protect the community from courts that have decided to make a vocation out of integrating the schools, sparing the pupils no expense whatever, and themselves only the expense of rigorous thought. The complaint is a) against amending the Constitution to forbid wild court decisions on the subject of busing; and b) against Richard Nixon's suggestion that the whole business be referred to Congress. In the first instance, the critics say, you would be reversing the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution—and simply denying people their rights. In the second instance, you would be denying the superior power of the Constitution by seeking to override it via mere legislative action.

I have it from Mr. C. Dickerman Williams of New York, who is the best thing to hit the Constitution since the Founding Fathers, the second objection is utter nonsense.

He cites with particular force what Congress did in 1932 in the Norris-LaGuardia Act. That act, however infamous in social effect and intention, has not been challenged as to constitutionality, and in it Congress very simply denied to federal courts jurisdiction over certain classes of labor disputes. To be sure, at no point has a federal court, citing that act, denied access to its services to someone seeking to make a constitutional claim. It happens that no one has tried. The crucial fact re-

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mains: that Congress saw fit to, and did, limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts in certain types of cases intending by procedural maneuver to make a substantive point.

Moreover, during the war the Supreme Court itself upheld Congress' right to limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts in a decision involving the Office of Price Administration. It was *Lockherty* v. *Phillips*, citing a decision a hundred years old, and the Court said in part: "The congressional power to ordain and establish inferior courts includes the power 'of investing them with jurisdiction either limited, concurrent, or exclusive, and of withholding jurisdiction from them in the exact degrees and character which to Congress may seem proper for the public good.'"

Moreover, it was Congress which in the first instance invited the federal courts to accept cases based on the meaning of the Constitution—in April of 1871. The Court could be deprived of authority to entertain claims made under the Constitution by the simple (and terrible) expedient of repealing Section 1331 of the Judicial Code. Nobody is saying Congress ought to do that, but everybody should be reminding himself that Congress has the *power* to do that, and it is not inappropriate occasionally to whisper in the Court's ear, "The people who gave you 1331 can take it away."

No, there are less drastic things to be done. For instance the deprivation of jurisdiction. Or, for instance again, requiring that issues of fact be determined by a jury —or a combination of the two. Everyone is nowadays agreed that no school district should assign pupils to schools with reference to their race. But the policies of many of the courts have as we all know gone far beyond this in their hot pursuit of de facto segregation, and remedial legislation based on the form of the Norris-LaGuardia Act would need merely to hold that "no court of the United States, shall have jurisdiction to issue any temporary or permanent order, injunction, or decree in a case relating to the assignment of students to, or their enrollment in, an educational institution, other than to forbid assignment or enrollment on the basis of the race, creed or color of the students. . . ." And it might be specified that juries would decide the factual point.

The purpose of the exercise is to get the federal courts out of the business of administration. Mr. Williams contributes as lagniappe a quotation from a speech by Chief Justice Hughes:

"And I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, no more insidious assault could be made upon the independence and esteem of the judiciary than to burden it with these questions of administration—questions which lie close to the public impatience, and in regard to which the people are going to insist on having administration by officers directly accountable to them. . . . With the courts giving a series of decisions in these administrative matters hostile to what the public believes, and free from that direct accounting to which administrative officers are subject, you will soon find a propaganda advocating a short-term judiciary, and you will turn upon our courts—the final safeguard of our liberties—that hostile and perhaps violent criticism from which they should be shielded and will be shielded if left with the jurisdiction which it was intended they should exercise." □

WHAT HAPPENED?

New York, May 8—What I want to know is: Why have we misjudged so gravely? I ask the questions, at this point, clinically, without prejudice to any future right to give way to anger.

One week ago the President of the United States told the entire country and the entire world that the invasion of South Vietnam would be repulsed, that that was the solid military judgment of General Abrams.

Today the South Vietnamese are almost everywhere in tatters, the millions of pounds of bombs we continue to dump over North Vietnam and much of South Vietnam appear to be about as related to stopping the North Vietnamese offensive as underground atomic explosions in Amchitka. One province is gone, another teeters at the brink, the refugees swarm out of the cities, the South Vietnamese army falls apart, whole regiments and divisions become nothing more than journalistic abstractions. Why didn't we know? Anticipate it? Warn against it?

There are many cases to be made against President Nixon, but let us confine ourselves to the one that says simply: with all his experience, with his knowledge of the dozen times his predecessor ventilated an optimism which proved to be inopportune to the point of being macabre, what did he do to overhaul the means by which he got his information?

Is it the fault of General Abrams, who was there before President Nixon was elected? What is the nature of Abrams' misestimates: Was it on the morale of the South Vietnamese that he guessed wrong? If so, why did he guess it wrong? Did he make enough allowances, in his estimates, for the morale factor? If not, why not? Did the Defense Department probe the matter, or simply accept the estimates of the commander in the field? Did the CIA contribute to the estimate? When, early in Mr. Nixon's term, the CIA advised that Vietnamization would not work, were its arguments confuted, and if so by whom, using what arguments?

Or was it the military strength of North Vietnam that we misestimated? The President told us that it was last October that we discovered that the enemy was preparing for a great offensive. Indeed: did we know on what scale the enemy was preparing? Did our intelligence services perform usefully? Did we weigh the amount of equipment being off-loaded from the Soviet freighters? Did we know the nature of the matériel? Did we organize our defenses, given the assumptions, competently?

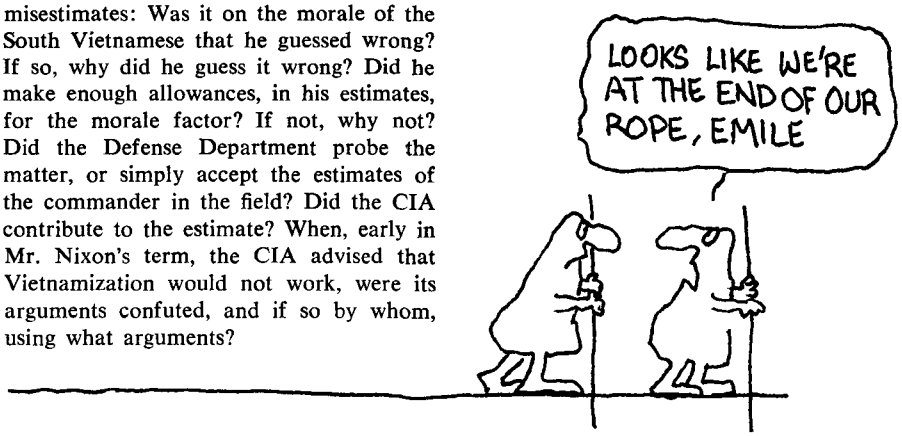
There are many things to be focused upon in the next weeks, having to do with the consequences of what is happening in Vietnam, but one of them surely is the dumbfounding incompetence of our calculations. We have been made to sound like Nicholas II, confidently advising the court that the imperial navy would knock out Japan in three weeks.

How many other mistakes, and miscalculations, have we made, are we relying on? As we have sat in Helsinki playing poker, have we proceeded on the basis of information put together by the same people who put together the information on which we have relied in Vietnam? General Thieu has gotten around to firing a couple of generals. Will we? Do we ever fire generals? Senator McGovern points out that although we have only one-fifth as many men under arms these days as we had during the height of the Second World War, nevertheless we have as many high grade officers now as then. How come? Lincoln occasionally found it necessary to change his generals, why is it we haven't?

Do we need completely to revamp our intelligence system? What about the State Department? And of course the Army?

There are a lot of people who, after assimilating the loss of South Vietnam and the victimization of those South Vietnamese who fought because we told them on network TV that we would never let them go down, are going to ask the hard technical questions, and they are not going to spare the Army, indeed they may very well not spare the commander in chief, and I'm not so sure they should. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)



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Y. An organization for the promotion of a cause — 1 83 67 9 172 100 51 164 118

Z. Petty quarrels — 113 165 105 152 125

x. Having no relevant component removed or destroyed — 5 12 22 25 139 143

y. The pivotal state in the 1916 presidential election — 168 181 203 215 24 110 155 163 193 8

z. A baseball pitch — 39 64 87 145 158 185

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 604 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram

1 Y	2 O		3 A	4 M	5 x	6 J	7 G		8 y	9 Y		10 D	11 G	12 x	13 P	14 O	15 Q	16 S
17 E	18 F	19 J	20 N		21 J	22 x		23 N		24 y	25 x	26 Q	27 E	28 I	29 O	30 X		31 B
32 C	33 E	34 I		35 O	36 C		37 F	38 H		39 z	40 G	41 A	42 V	43 B	44 C	45 F		46 H
47 G	48 K	49 I		50 R	51 Y	52 Q	53 S	54 O	55 T	56 G	57 X	58 J	59 A	60 C		61 N	62 T	63 W
64 z	65 A	66 J	67 Y		68 D	69 U	70 G		71 C	72 B	73 E	74 H	75 R	76 L	77 J		78 E	79 O
	80 N		81 D	82 P	83 Y	84 M		85 P	86 V	87 z	88 X	89 M	90 N	91 R		92 G	93 O	
94 N	95 K	96 F	97 L	98 C	99 O		100Y	101G	102S		103P	104W	105Z	106G	107S	108H	109V	
110y	111W		112S	113Z	114T	115U	116J		117J	118Y	119H		120L	121V	122U	123K		124V
125Z		126I	127H	128U	129L		130A	131M		132W	133F	134R	135X		136T	137Q	138X	
139x	140H	141P	142T		143x	144W		145z	146T	147M	148W	149R	150J		151E	152Z		153J
154V	155y		156O	157A	158z	159E	160K	161W	162V	163y	164Y	165Z	166C	167G		168y	169C	170P
171W	172Y	173T	174X	175D	176H	177K		178G	179J		180S	181y	182U	183K	184B	185z		186L
187E	188F	189K		190S	191L	192D	193y	194N		195R	196D	197K	198M	199P	200J		201S	202U
203y	204Q	205B	206K	207V		208U	209B		210A	211U	212V	213B	214F	215y	216N	217W	218D	219R

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Look to the 'Blue Chip' agent.

Connecticut Mutual Life
the 'Blue Chip' Company

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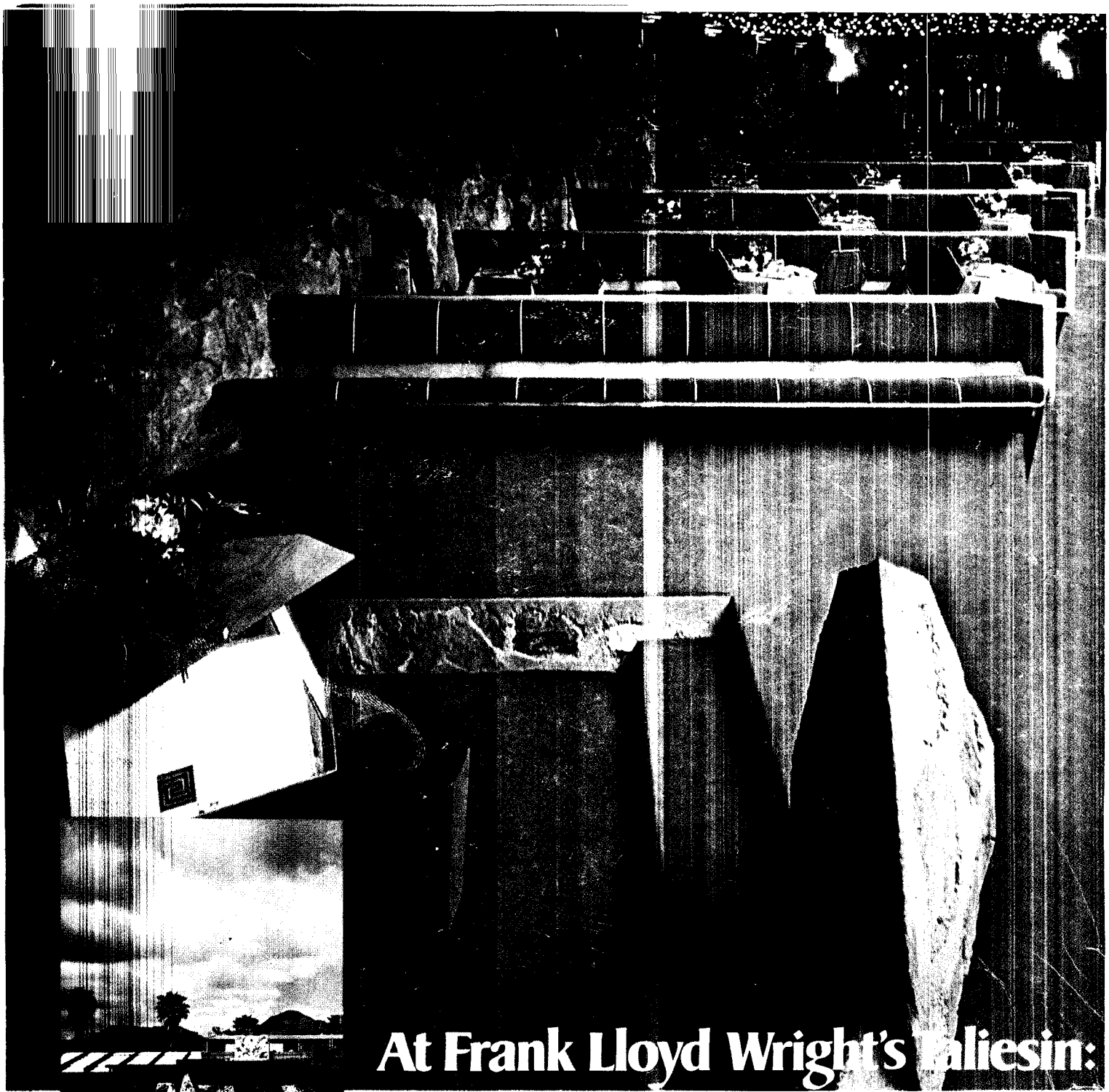

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